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Bulletin No. 65

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HUMANISTISK-SAMHÄLLSVETENSKAPLIGA FORSKNINGSRÅDET
*
THE CHIANG CHING-KUO FOUNDATION FOR INTERNATIONAL
SCHOLARLY EXCHANGE

ISSN 0081-5691
Printed by
MediaPrint AB, Uddevalla

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Oligarchy or Social Mobility

A Study of the Great Clans of Early Medieval China

by
Dušanka D. Mišćević

Abbreviations

CHS	<i>Ch'en shu</i>
CHO	<i>Chou shu</i>
BMFEA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities</i>
CS	<i>Chin shu</i>
CYYY	<i>Chung-yang yen-chiu yüan: Li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu suo chi-k'an (Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica)</i>
HHS	<i>Hou Han shu</i>
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
HTS	<i>Hsin T'ang shu</i>
JAS	<i>Journal of Asian Studies</i>
LS	<i>Liang shu</i>
NCS	<i>Nan Ch'i shu</i>
NS	<i>Nan-shih</i>
PCS	<i>Pei Ch'i shu</i>
PS	<i>Pei-shih</i>
SKC	<i>San-kuo chih</i>
TT	<i>T'ung-tien</i>
SS	<i>Sung shu</i>
WS	<i>Wei shu</i>

I. Introduction

The period from the fall of the Later Han dynasty (A.D. 220) through the reunification of China proper by the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589) is one of the least understood and the least researched periods of Chinese history. Until recently, it has received little attention from Western scholars. This period of almost four centuries is given a cursory treatment in Western works on general Chinese history and is often dismissed as "the period of political disunion," or "the epoch of the first division of China." The history of the era, usually known as *Wei, Chin, Nan-pei ch'ao* (the Wei, Chin, and Southern and Northern dynasties), or simply as the Six Dynasties, appears to be a "black hole"¹ between two great imperial eras.

The disintegration of central authority, constant warfare, attacks by non-Han people from the north, Chinese colonization of the south, and the rapid succession of short-lived dynasties make it impossible to form a clear picture of the state and society at this time. This has led many observers to view the Six Dynasties era as a Chinese analogue of the Dark Ages in Europe — the time after the fall of the Roman Empire, which is rarely studied in depth. The general acceptance of the term "medieval" to refer to this period between the two great imperial ages, also owes much to this analogy.²

There are, of course, considerable difficulties inherent in studying a period when no single state held control over what we now think of as "China." Even sketching a general outline of the political history of these four centuries is not a simple task. The collapse of Later Han authority was accompanied by wars and uprisings that led to the establishment of three separate kingdoms: the Kingdom of Wei (A.D. 220-265), led by the Ts'ao family; the Szechwan Kingdom of Han, or Shu Han (A.D. 221-263), founded by Liu Pei; and the Kingdom of Wu (A.D. 222-280), founded by Sun Ch'üan. The Wei armies, led by a general of the Ssu-ma clan, conquered the Shu Han in A.D. 263, and two years later the Ssu-ma clan seized power at Lo-yang and founded the Chin dynasty (A.D. 265-316). It was not until A.D. 280 that the new empire took control of the Wu territory, and reunited the Yangtze valley with the rest of China proper.

A clan by the name of Chia attempted to usurp the power of the Ssu-mas, which led to instability that lasted from A.D. 291-305, and ended in a civil war known as the "Rebellion of the Eight Princes." As imperial authority faltered, various nomadic tribes living in the north and north-west of China proper began to form independent political units: a proto-Tibetan Ti clan founded the Kingdom of Ch'eng Han in Szechwan in A.D. 304; in the same year the Hsiung-nu tribe of

¹ I have borrowed the term from Joshua Fogel's introduction to Tanigawa, *Medieval Chinese Society and the Local Community*, p. XV.

² Etienne Balazs was one of the first to use the term in the West in his extensive study of the period, *Études sur la société et l'économie de la Chine médiévale*. Although the use of this term, derived from the experience of European history, has raised objections, no one has come up with a more practical alternative.

southern Shansi founded a dynasty that was initially called Han, and later renamed Chao. When Loyang fell to one Hsiung-nu chieftain in A.D. 311, and Ch'ang-an to another in A.D. 316, the Chin empire effectively ceased to exist. But some members of the Ssu-ma clan moved south, accompanied by an entourage of courtiers and commoners, and established a new Chin dynasty in the Yangtze valley with the capital at Chien-k'ang (present day Nanking) in A.D. 317.

This second Chin dynasty, which controlled a considerably smaller territory than the first, became known as the Eastern Chin, to distinguish it from the original Chin dynasty which is now known as the Western Chin. The Eastern Chin became just one of the many short-lived dynasties based in the Yangtze valley that became known as the Southern Dynasties. These were: the Eastern Chin (A.D. 317-420); the Liu Sung (A.D. 420-479), which was established by a Liu clan of humble origin; the Ch'i (later known as the Southern Ch'i, to distinguish it from another Ch'i dynasty established in the north), which was established by the Hsiao clan from Lan-ling (A.D. 479-502); the Liang (A.D. 502-549), which was established by a cousin of the last Southern Ch'i emperor; and the Ch'en (A.D. 557-589), which was established by an army leader by the name of Ch'en Pa-hsien.

It should be noted that the Ch'en did not follow the Liang directly. In A.D. 548 a general in the service of the northern Western Wei dynasty by the name of Hou Ching offered his services to the Liang, but then rebelled and marched on Chien-k'ang. The ensuing years until his death in A.D. 552 were characterized by disturbances that came to be known as the "Rebellion of Hou Ching." The Western Wei launched several attacks against the Liang, and occupied Szechwan in A.D. 553, seizing the strategic city of Hsiang-yang, and advancing into western Hupei as far as Chiang-ling. There it installed a prince of the Liang imperial family who had been captured at Hsiang-yang, and established the so-called Later Liang. This new kingdom of Later Liang became the puppet of the dynasties that controlled the Wei valley: the Western Wei (A.D. 535-557), the Northern Chou (A.D. 557-581), and the Sui (A.D. 581-618), who annexed it in A.D. 587. The Ch'en dynasty was established in the lower Yangtze valley, but only after several years of civil war that followed the Western Wei invasions.

The situation in the northern part of China proper was even more complicated. The revolts of non-Chinese peoples which occurred at the end of the Western Chin dynasty resulted in a complete territorial division and a succession of small kingdoms, ruled mostly by non-Chinese tribal elites. Between A.D. 304, when a family of proto-Tibetan Ti established the kingdom of Ch'eng Han in Szechwan and the Hsiung-nu of southern Shansi proclaimed the Kingdom of Han (later changed to Chao), and A.D. 439, when the Hsien-pei T'o-pa clan united all of northern China, a total of sixteen kingdoms emerged on the territory stretching from the eastern oases of Central Asia to Shantung, and from present-day southern Manchuria to Szechwan. These were: Former³ Chao (originally Han), estab-

³ Originally only "Chao." The terms such as "former" and "later," as well as geographical directions, were used later to distinguish several kingdoms who used the same dynastic designation.

lished by the Hsiung-nu in Shansi (A.D. 304-329); Ch'eng Han, established by the Ti in Szechwan (A.D. 304-347); Later Chao, established by the Chieh in Hopei (A.D. 319-351); Former Liang, established by a Chinese family in Kansu (A.D. 314-376); Former Yen, established by the Hsien-pei in Hopei (A.D. 349-370); Former Ch'in, established by the Ti in Shensi (A.D. 351-394); Later Yen, established by the Hsien-pei in Hopei (A.D. 384-409); Later Ch'in, established by the Ch'iang in Shensi (A.D. 384-417); Western Ch'in, established by the Hsien-pei in Kan-su (A.D. 385-431); Later Liang, established by the Ti in Kansu (A.D. 386-403); Southern Liang, established by the Hsien-pei in Kansu (A.D. 397-414); Northern Liang, established by the Hsiung-nu in Kansu (A.D. 401-439); Southern Yen, established by the Hsien-pei in Shantung (A.D. 400-410); Western Liang, established by a Chinese clan in Kansu (A.D. 400-421); Hsia, established by the Hsiung-nu in Shensi (A.D. 407-431); and Northern Yen, established by a Chinese clan in Liaoning (A.D. 409-439).⁴

The most powerful of the barbarians who ruled in northern China, however, were the T'o-pa tribe of the Hsien-pei.⁵ Their tribal chief received the title of Prince of Tai from the Eastern Chin dynasty in A.D. 315. They were allowed to settle in parts of northern Shensi, and eventually took control of all the lands from the Ordos and the basin of the Sir-Darya and Amu-Darya, to the northeast of present-day Peking. They established their capital in Ta-t'ung in A.D. 386, adopted the dynastic name of Wei, and started a gradual expansion into China proper, eventually taking control of the whole of Northern China in A.D. 439.

The T'o-pa Wei dynasty ended in A.D. 523, with the rebellion of the armies that were protecting its northern borders, known as the "Rebellion of the Six Garrisons." This was followed by civil war (A.D. 523-534), and the establishment of two rival regimes: the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i, with its capital in Yeh (A.D. 534-577); and the Western Wei/Northern Chou, with its capital in Ch'ang-an (A.D. 535-581). In A.D. 577, the Western Wei/Northern Chou annihilated the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i, only to fall itself to the Sui dynasty in A.D. 581. The Sui then conquered the Southern Ch'en dynasty and finally united the whole of China proper in A.D. 589, ending the long period of division between north and south.

This period, from the fall of the Later Han dynasty (A.D. 220) to the reunification of China proper by the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589) is the framework for the present study. It will be referred to as the "early medieval period," to distinguish it from the period of unified empires of the Sui and the T'ang, which represent the zenith of Chinese medieval culture. The confusion created by political instability

⁴ These kingdoms were not formed as the result of alien invasion, but by the elites of various ethnic groups already residing within China proper. As Han subjects and tax-payers, they would not have been considered "barbarians." It was the outlook of later Chinese historians that led these kingdoms to be labeled the "Sixteen Kingdoms of the Five Barbarians" (*wu-hu shih-liu kuo*). Three of the kingdoms were in fact established by clans that were reputed to be Chinese. The intermarriage of the Han and non-Han in the reigning families was so common that it is often impossible to make the distinction.

⁵ T'o-pa is the Chinese transcription of their name, Tabgatch. The other Hsien-pei tribes that came to play an important role in the medieval history of Northern China were the Yü-wen and the Mu-jung.

and frequent changes of authority during the early medieval period was naturally reflected in the historical sources that cover this period. Traditional Chinese historiography is mainly concerned with political history. Its emphasis on political events, such as those that caused the rise and fall of dynasties, has served to mask elements of continuity in social and economic developments that transcended dynastic divisions, and, conversely, to neglect significant changes that may have occurred in society during the rule of a single dynasty. A breakthrough in the conceptual understanding of Chinese history came with the theory of periodization introduced by the Japanese scholar Naito Konan, who challenged the widely accepted notion that the modern period in China began with the arrival of Westerners. His discovery of significant differences between the cultures of the T'ang and Sung periods led him to believe that China's modern period began during the Sung dynasty. As a result, he labeled the period that preceded the "modern age" the "rule of aristocracy."⁶

Very few scholars recognized that Naito's aristocratic interpretation was not supported by any detailed study.⁷ Since the publication of his theory in 1922, the entire medieval period has been seen as a rule of "hereditary aristocracy."⁸ There is no doubt that there were certain "great clans" whose names dominate the histories of the medieval period. It is equally clear that these lineages outlasted the rule of any single dynasty — which is why they are referred to as great medieval clans. Their number was not great. They can easily be labeled an "oligarchy" if one defines the term as "rule by the few," but so could all the ruling elites throughout Chinese history (and most of the world history too).⁹ To say that medieval China was ruled by a small group of people is tantamount to stating the obvious. But, were new

⁶ See Joshua A. Fogel, *Politics and Sinology: The Case of Naito Konan (1866-1934)*, Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984. Hisayuki Miyakawa, "An Outline of the Naito Hypothesis and its Effects on Japanese Studies of China," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, vol. XIV, No. 4 (August 1953), pp. 533-552. Miyakawa chose the following quotation from Naito's work to represent his clearest statement on aristocratic society: "This aristocracy, as an institution, was not given lands and people by the emperor. Consisting of regional leading families based on enduring lineage, monopolizing office, and marrying within its own group, it looked down on the common people as slaves. Effective emperors did exist, but as they were incapable of affecting the standing of these families, they exercised an authority circumscribed by their own recognition of the special privileges of the aristocratic class. As the leading instruments of this class, they were enthroned and dethroned by the collective will of their relatives, politics having almost no connection with the common people." Miyakawa, *Rikucho shi kenkyu: seiji shakai hen*, p. 342, n. 1. The quote is translated by Dennis Grafflin in "The Great Family in Medieval South China," *HJAS*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (1981), pp. 65-74.

⁷ Kawakatsu Yoshio, a disciple of the "Kyoto School" of Japanese sinology founded by Naito, warned in 1962 that Naito had employed a "programmatic approach" to pre-Sung society in order to devote his attention to the modern period. Kawakatsu, "Six Dynasties Aristocratic Society and the History of Medieval China," *Shiso*, No. 21 (1961), pp. 119-20.

⁸ For example, Ho P'ing-ti, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China*, p. 259. Most commentators on the period fail to fully define the term "aristocracy." Even the great medieval scholar Ch'en Yin-k'o, who identified the An Lu-shan Rebellion of the T'ang period as the watershed between the aristocratic and bureaucratic stage of Chinese social history, failed to explain the nature of the aristocratic families. See Parts One and Two of his *T'ang-tai cheng-chih shih-lueh lun-kao*. Mao Han-kuang was one of the few scholars who studied the differences among various social groups in the medieval society, and ended up applying the term "aristocratic" to any man whose ancestors held official posts for at least two generations before his own official appointment. See Mao Han-kuang, *Liang-Chin nan-pei ch'ao shih-tsu cheng-chih chih yen-chiu*, 2 vols., Taipei: Chung-kuo hsueh-shu chu-tso ch'ang-chu wei-yüan hui, 1966, pp. 3-8.

⁹ David G. Johnson was the first to apply the term to the ruling elites of the early medieval period. Johnson, *The Medieval Chinese Oligarchy*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1977.

dynasties and new emperors "incapable of affecting the standing of these families," as Naito has claimed? This was an era of great political instability with frequent changes in imperial authority, and the constant warfare must have introduced fresh blood into the circle of the ruling elite. How could any clan, unless it was always on the right side, have a guaranteed position at the pinnacle of power at all times? My study examines how long these clans remained at the pinnacle of power, how much power they actually held at any given moment, and how effective they were in impeding others from joining their group, as a way of determining whether or not they constituted a deeply entrenched elite that monopolized political power at all times — a medieval oligarchy in true sense.

Wolfram Eberhard has indicated that it is impossible to find out how most of the medieval gentry families entered the gentry, but he suspects that in many cases they were descended from the noble families of the ancient period.¹⁰ Mao Han-kuang has maintained that the two Han dynasties were a period of fermentation for the great families of medieval China, and that all the great families of the Southern Dynasties arose before the Eastern Chin.¹¹ For David Johnson, a comparison of Mao Han-kuang's tabulations with three T'ang "lists of prefectural notables" was sufficient evidence that the composition of the elite stayed remarkably stable through the whole period between the Chin and the T'ang.¹² Unfortunately, these claims do not rest on the reconstruction of any actual families. Mao Han-kuang does not use any sources for the period prior to the Chin, so his claims cannot be taken as well-founded. Johnson relies entirely on the T'ang sources, and therefore readily accepts the T'ang point of view.

The present study grew out of the belief that we can arrive at an understanding of the true "longevity", "stability", and "perennial importance" of the medieval elite¹³ only by carefully sifting through the sources beginning with the Later Han dynasty, reconstructing family genealogies from the material thus obtained, and analyzing each family's power and prestige under each early medieval dynasty. It is essential to avoid retroactively projecting conclusions based on an analysis of T'ang society onto the earlier medieval period. The method I have adopted in this study is essentially that used by Hans Bielenstein in his study of social mobility in Han times.¹⁴ It entails filing biographical information for all the individuals who have biographies in dynastic histories that cover the entire period, starting with the Later Han, and then isolating cases where the same clan names appear in the same localities for at least two consecutive dynasties. Clans for whom genealogies can be

¹⁰ Eberhard, *Conquerors and Rulers: Social Forces in Medieval China*, pp. 43-44.

¹¹ Mao Han-kuang, "A Case Study of Eminent Families in Medieval China—The Lang-yeh Wang," *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* (Academia Sinica), No. 37 (1967), pp. 577-610; and *Liang-Chin nan-pei ch'ao shih-tsu cheng-chih chih yen-chiu*, Vol. I, p. 63.

¹² Johnson, *The Medieval Chinese Oligarchy*, Chapter 7.

¹³ I am paraphrasing Robert Somers who found Johnson's work utterly convincing in this regard. Somers, "The Society of Early Imperial China: Three Recent Studies," *JAS*, 38 (1978), p. 133.

¹⁴ See Bielenstein, "Regional powers and national factions," *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty*, Vol. IV, *Bulletin of the Museum of the Far Eastern Antiquities*, 51 (1979), pp. 72-125.

drawn based on material obtained in this way undoubtedly constitute "great medieval clans."¹⁵

I realize, of course, that my reconstructions are not complete. First, as we have noted, the dynastic histories were primarily interested in recording political history, and would have ignored individuals who did not influence the course of events in their time.¹⁶ Daughters are also ignored, as a rule, unless they brought their clans to the apex of influence by becoming empresses.¹⁷ But since our objective is to isolate the clans and individuals who did influence the political history of their day, the genealogies thus obtained are certainly representative of the influence a clan had at any given time.¹⁸

In all, I have used over five thousand biographical entries as a base from which to reconstruct the early medieval elite. After identifying the "great medieval clans," my study examines the number of Arbiter posts these clans held at any given time, and the success with which they translated the advantage of holding such posts into the domination of the highest echelons of bureaucracy. In the following chapter, I identify all the clans which are "aristocratic" in the more conventional sense of the word (I refer to them as "noble clans" to avoid confusion). I show the extent to which entrenched bureaucratic clans enjoyed the benefits of inheritable noble status, and the extent to which the nobility of one dynasty carried such status over into the next. Finally, I examine how successfully the great medieval clans influenced a dynasty by installing their women as empresses.

Together, the analysis of these measurable aspects of status should provide a reasonably clear picture of the "longevity", "stability", and "perennial importance" of the ruling early medieval class and will make it easier to assess the claims made by Naito, Kawakatsu, and Johnson. This groundwork may also place the genealogical claims of the T'ang ruling class in a new light.

¹⁵ My study refers to the ruling elite that influenced the political history of the medieval period simply as the "great medieval clans," which is probably closest in meaning to the various original terms in Chinese. See Mao Han-kuang, *Liang-Chin nan-pei ch'ao shih-tsu cheng-chih chih yen-chiu*, pp. 1-2, for the many terms used to describe the same group of people. As many have noted, these terms were used loosely, and there did not seem to be a legal definition of any of them. See Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-14. Arguably, the term "lineages" would be more appropriate, particularly when applied to the Southern elite. Graflin justly talks of "cohesive, functional units of ... southern lineages" in "Reinventing China: Pseudobureaucracy in the Early Southern Dynasties," p. 145. Also see his "The Great Family in Medieval South China," pp. 65-74. Title and office distribution in the North, however, suggests the emergence of the clan as the supporting network in national politics in biological sense.

¹⁶ See Appendix page 13-14.

¹⁷ In some cases, though rarely, marriages to extremely influential officials are also mentioned.

¹⁸ Patricia Ebrey used all available additional sources, most notably funerary inscriptions, to reconstruct the genealogy of the Po-ling Tsui clan. She calculated that only about half the men born into the clan appear in the *Hsin T'ang shu* genealogical tables. Ebrey, *The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China: A Case Study of the Po-ling Ts'ui Family*, pp. 157-173. But her genealogy of the clan, which also used the T'ang sources, is practically identical to mine for the period prior to the T'ang. Several factors have influenced my decision not to use other materials. I spent months sifting through the epigraphic material — from the 1069 published collections I found in libraries in the U.S.A., Taiwan and Japan, to the unpublished stone rubbings held at the Academia Sinica in Taiwan — only to discover that the material was extremely uneven. The funerary inscriptions dating to the T'o-pa Wei period were so numerous that it would be almost impossible to use them for all the clans, but the yield for the Chin and the Southern Dynasties was so meager that it was negligible. The biographical information contained in the *Shih-shuo hsün-yü*, an early fifth century collection of "anecdotes" on Chinese society from around A.D. 150-420, did not contradict or significantly complement the material in the dynastic sources. In addition, it covers only southern society, and has no parallel in the North. Literary collections and hagiographies have no relevance for the topic of my study. In the end, therefore, I have relied exclusively on dynastic histories.

Appendix Note 16

Although dynastic histories, also called standard histories, exist for all kingdoms and empires of the early medieval period, with the exception of the "Sixteen Kingdoms of the Five Barbarians," they are not uniform as sources. Some of them began as private ventures which eventually received official recognition, others were commissioned by a reigning dynasty. Some of those commissioned by a reigning dynasty could not be completed because of political disturbances, others were completed and recognized as standard accounts of a period only to lose that status under later dynasties. Regardless of the conditions under which they were written, by T'ang times fifteen histories came to be collectively regarded as the "standard" account of pre-T'ang history. "Standard history" (*cheng-shih*) appears as a category for the first time in the bibliographical chapters of the *Sui shu* and the *T'ang shu*. It is not the intention of this study to discuss all the details of compilation, dating, and sources of the dynastic histories that cover the early medieval period. For the purpose of this study, the following bibliographical notes should suffice.

Hou Han shu (*History of the Later Han*) covers the years A.D. 25-220. It was compiled by Fan Yeh (A.D. 398-446). It consists of ten chapters of basic records (*pen-chi*, usually referred to as "imperial annals" in English), eighty chapters of biographies (*lieh-chuan*), and ten chapters of treatises (*chih*). Fan Yeh managed to complete the basic records and biographies by the time of his death, while the ten treatises were later added to the text from another compilation.

San-kuo chih (*Treatise of the Three Kingdoms*) covers the years A.D. 221-280 (Wei: A.D. 221-265; Shu: A.D. 221-264; Wu: A.D. 222-280). It was compiled by Ch'en Shou (A.D. 233-297). It is not divided into traditional sections. Thirty of its sixty-five chapters deal with the Kingdom of Wei, fifteen with the Kingdom of Shu, and twenty with the Kingdom of Wu. Within each of these three sections, the chapters concerning rulers are written in an annalistic form, but are not termed "annals" or "basic records." Thus, this dynastic history may be said to consist of sixty-five chapters of biographies.

Chin shu (*History of the Chin*) covers the years A.D. 265-419. It is the first Chinese dynastic history to be compiled by a committee, which from that time on became a standard practice. Its compilation was ordered by the T'ang Emperor T'ai-tsung, who commissioned Fang Hsüan-ling (A.D. 578-648) to supervise the work of over twenty scholars engaged for this project. The Emperor himself wrote four critical essays of appraisal (*tsan*), appended to chapters 1, 3, 54, and 80, and the whole work thus acquired the honorific title of "imperial compilation" (*yü-chuan*). Nevertheless, the authorship is generally attributed to Fang Hsüan-ling. The history consists of ten chapters of basic records, twenty chapters of treatises, seventy chapters of biographies, and thirty chapters called *Tsai-chi*. The latter describe the lives of barbarian rulers who governed northern China during the fourth and early fifth centuries (A.D. 304-439), when the Chin court was forced to move south. Since Ts'ui Hung's account of the same period, *Shih-liu kuo ch'un-ch'iu* ("Sixteen Kingdoms of the Five Barbarians"), is no longer extant, the *tsai-chi* chapters of the *Chin shu* are the only source for those short-lived states.

Sung shu (*History of the Sung*) covers the years A.D. 420-479. It was compiled by Shen Yüeh (A.D. 441-513), and it was commissioned by the dynasty immediately succeeding the Liu Sung, the Southern Ch'i. The Southern Ch'i Emperor Wu ordered its compilation in A.D. 487, and the work was presented to the throne in the following year. It was based on various accounts compiled under the Liu Sung itself, but the haste of its compilation led to many mistakes that were later recognized and criticized. The history consists of ten chapters of basic records, thirty chapters of treatises, and sixty chapters of biographies.

Nan-Ch'i shu (*History of the Southern Ch'i*), which was originally known as simply the *Ch'i shu*, covers the years A.D. 479-502. It was compiled by Hsiao Tzu-hsien (A.D. 489-537) under the first emperor of Liang. Hsiao Tzu-hsien was a member of the Southern Ch'i ruling house, and the history

has been criticized for its bias. It consists of eight chapters of basic records, eleven chapters of treatises, and forty chapters of biographies.

Liang shu (*History of the Liang*) covers the years A.D. 502-556. It was compiled by Yao Ch'a (A.D. 533-606) and his son Yao Ssu-lien (d. 637) during the first decades of the T'ang. The history does not contain any treatises. It consists only of six chapters of basic records, and fifty chapters of biographies.

Ch'en shu (*History of the Ch'en*) covers the years A.D. 557-589. Like the history of the preceding Liang dynasty, it was compiled by Yao Ch'a (A.D. 533-606) and his son Yao Ssu-lien (d. 637) during the first decades of the T'ang. Like its predecessor, it does not contain any treatises. It consists only of six chapters of basic records, and thirty chapters of biographies.

Wei shu (*History of the Wei*) covers the years A.D. 386-550. It was compiled by Wei Shou (A.D. 506-572) under one of the two rival successor states to the T'o-pa Wei, the Northern Ch'i. Wei Shou inserted an introductory chapter in which twenty-seven ancestors of the first T'o-pa Wei emperor received posthumous imperial titles and annalistic treatment. This is one of the twelve chapters of basic records. The history also contains ninety-two chapters of biographies, and twenty chapters of treatises.

Pei-Ch'i shu (*History of the Northern Ch'i*) covers the years A.D. 550-577. It was compiled by Li Teh-lin (A.D. 530-590) and his son Li Po-yao (A.D. 565-648) during the first decades of the T'ang. It does not contain any treatises. The history consists of eight chapters of basic records and forty-two chapters of biographies.

Chou shu (*History of the Chou*) covers the years A.D. 557-581. It was compiled by a board of historians headed by Ling-hu Teh-fen (A.D. 583-666) during the first decades of the T'ang. It, too, does not contain any treatises, and consists only of nine chapters of basic records and forty-two chapters of biographies.

The lack of treatises in many of the standard histories for the Northern and Southern dynasties, as well as the objections to their accuracy and the points of view, prompted the T'ang court to order the writing of two new histories, which were to cover the period of division. Both new histories were compiled by a committee (which became a standard practice at this time) headed by Li Yen-shou (c. A.D. 629). *Nan-shih* (*History of the Southern Dynasties*) covers the years A.D. 420-589, from the accession of the Liu Sung dynasty to the fall of the Ch'en to the Sui. *Pei-shih* (*History of the Northern Dynasties*) covers the years A.D. 368-618, from T'o-pa Kuei's assumption of the imperial title, to the fall of the Sui dynasty. Unfortunately, both histories merely amount to a rewording of earlier histories, and do not provide much additional information. Treatises were not added to either one of them.

Initially, I catalogued the information from all of the above dynastic histories: the *Hou-Han shu*, *San-kuo chih*, *Chin shu*, *Sung shu*, *Nan-Ch'i shu*, *Liang shu*, *Ch'en shu*, *Wei shu*, *Pei-Ch'i shu*, *Chou shu*, *Nan-shih* and *Pei-shih*, but I eventually abandoned the *Nan-shih* and *Pei-shih* as sources, because they essentially re-wrote the earlier histories, without providing additional material. The information from the *Nan-shih* and *Pei-shih* is used only when it provides a missing link in clan genealogies.

I have used only the material contained in biographical chapters. Basic annals mention appointments of high ranking officials, but they never identify the appointees by their choronym. They have, therefore, been disregarded in this study.

II. The Great Early Medieval Clans

Early in his reign, the second T'ang Emperor, T'ai-tsung, appointed a committee of high ranking officials to draw up a compendium based on genealogical works from all parts of the empire, which was then to be checked against the historical record for accuracy. The work was expected to define the relative importance and social standing of all the leading clans. When it was presented to the throne in 638 under the title *Chen-kuan shih-tsu chih*, T'ai-tsung reputedly demanded a revision to give more credit to clans currently in official positions.¹ This anecdote is usually used to illustrate the frustration of the new T'ang ruling house in the face of the arrogance and pre-eminence of the old aristocratic elite, but it also points to what may amount to a standard practice in genealogy compilation: falsification. In fact, a close look at T'ang genealogical material in the *Hsin T'ang shu tsai-hsiang shih-hsi piao* reveals information that not only cannot be verified, but is clearly fabricated.

As the documents available to T'ang genealogists are no longer extant, it is impossible to prove whether a certain claimed ancestor ever lived — unless, of course, he happens to be mentioned in one of the dynastic histories. A fair number of the biographies in the dynastic histories are devoted to important individuals, and a clan that was eminent in the social and political life of its day would simply have to appear in one of them. Therefore, if a modern-day historian can compile genealogies of certain clans based on their biographies in the dynastic histories, it is certain that those clans enjoyed prominent status on a national level in their day. This is an important point to bear in mind, because the time under our scrutiny was a time when genealogical activity reached epidemic proportions. Wang Seng-ju is known to have compiled a genealogical work listing all the eminent clans of the Liang empire under Emperor Wu, that extended to over seven hundred chapters;² Wang Seng-ju worked under the imperial orders of the Liang Emperor Wu, who established a Bureau of Genealogy to combat the decay of the registration system and put an end to fraud and corruption in the status system. The falsification of social registers and bribery of officials in charge of them were rampant and well documented.³ It seems that anybody and everybody could produce a genealogy to support even erroneous claims. Dynastic histories, on the other hand, only deal with individuals who truly played an outstanding role in the society of their time.

I have interfiled biographical data contained in the dynastic histories for the period starting with the Later Han and ending with the unification of the Sui (A.D.

¹ Denis Twitchett, "The Composition of the T'ang Ruling Class" in *Perspectives on the T'ang*, Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett eds., pp. 62-63.

² This is the *Shih-pa chou p'u* ("The Genealogical Register for the Eighteen Regions"), which Wang Seng-ju compiled in addition to the famous *Po chia p'u* ("Genealogical Register of the Hundred Families"). There is some confusion as to the authorship and length of this work. The *Hsin T'ang shu* and Wang's biography in the *Liang shu* credit him with this work, listing the number of chapters as 712. For more detail see David Johnson, *The Medieval Chinese Oligarchy* (thesis), pp. 118-120, who relates the incident, quoting the *T'ung tien*.

³ See *Nan shih*, 59/16b/2-4; also Johnson, *The Medieval Chinese Oligarchy* (thesis), pp. 104-106.

25 to A.D. 589), identifying all instances where the same clan names appear in the same localities for two or more dynasties. I have then read the biographies of such individuals and compiled genealogies of their clans, wherever the information allowed. I have only considered claims of descent where at least the generation is specified.⁴ My approach does not consider the existence of the same surname in the same location as conclusive proof of the enduring eminence of a clan, unless supported by other evidence.⁵ In cases where no direct connection between individuals is indicated, I have made separate lists. If a surname appears in the same location over a period of several dynasties, but direct family ties cannot be established for the individuals mentioned, I take this to mean that the clan had importance on the local level but no status on the national level. When a surname appears constantly, but the connections between clan members can be established only sporadically, I take this to mean the the clan's influence on the national level waxed and waned.

Below are lists of the clans which retained their national position over two dynasties:

1a. Clans that continue from Later Han into the Three Kingdoms period:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CHANG	Chien-wei	Wu-yang
2.	CH'EN	Ying-ch'uan	Hsü-ch'ang (Hsü)
3.	CHENG	Hsing-yang (Ho-nan)	K'ai-feng
4.	CHOU	Lu-chiang	Shu
5.	CHUNG	Ying-ch'uan	Ch'ang-she
6.	CHUNG-LI	K'uai-chi	Shan-yin
7.	FA	Fu-feng	Mei
8.	FU	Pei-ti	Ni-yang (Ling-chou)
9.	HO	Ch'en-kuo	Yang-hsia
10.	HSÜ	Ju-nan	P'ing-yü
11.	HSÜN	Ying-ch'uan	Ying-yin
12.	HUAN	Ch'iao-kuo (P'ei)	Lung-k'ang
13.	HUANG-FU	An-ting	Ch'ao-na
14.	LAI	I-yang	Hsin-yeh
15.	LIU	Chiang-hsia	Ching-ling
16.	LIU	Tung-lai	Mou-p'ing
17.	LU	Cho	Cho
18.	LU	Wu	Wu

⁴ Many individuals claim descent from a Han ancestor, but if no other specifications are given, I have discounted such claims.

⁵ In later chapters I analyze the highest official posts, the noble titles, and intermarriage with imperial clans as indicators of high status.

19.	P'ANG	Nan	Hsiang-yang
20.	PAO	T'ai-shan (Shang-tang)	P'ing-yang (Tun-liu)
21.	TS'AI	Ch'en-liu	Yü-ch'eng
22.	TS'UI	Po-ling (Cho)	An-p'ing
23.	TU	Ying-ch'uan	Ting-ling
24.	TUNG	Lung-hsi	Lin-t'ao
25.	WANG	Shan-yang	Kao-p'ing
26.	WANG	T'ai-yüan	Chin-yang
27.	WANG	T'ai-yüan	Ch'i
28.	YANG	Hung-nung	Hua-yin
29.	YANG	T'ai-shan	Nan-ch'eng (P'ing-yang)
30.	YING	Ju-nan	Nan-tun
31.	YÜ	Ying-ch'uan	Yen-ling
32.	YÜAN	Ju-nan	Ju-yang

In addition to the thirty-two clans listed above, the names of three other clans appear in the same locations in the sources for both the Han and the period of the Three Kingdoms. Their genealogies can be drawn, too, based on the information provided by the sources, but they do not number enough individuals to constitute prominent clans.

In the case of the Hos from Nan-yang, Wan, and the Lius from Tung-p'ing, Ning-yang, only two individuals are mentioned per clan. In the case of the Liu clan from Shan-yang, Kao-p'ing, three individuals are known, but they are spread over only two generations. In view of the length of the Later Han dynasty, it would be hard to consider this clan a prominent Han clan. For a clan to be considered in this study, it must consist of at least three individuals spread over at least three generations.

Then there are surnames that appear in both the Later Han and the Three Kingdoms period in the same locations, where it is impossible to connect the individuals with the same surname into coherent family trees. There are fourteen such cases. They are important to note, because the same surname may appear during later dynasties, and its bearers may turn out to belong to what we have defined as prominent clans.

1b. Surnames that appear in both Later Han and the Three Kingdoms period, where direct family ties cannot be established:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CHANG	Shu	Ch'eng-tu
2.	CHANG	Tun-huang	Chiu-ch'üan
3.	CH'EN	Nan-yang	(Hsi-o)
4.	HSIEH	K'uai-chi	Shan-yin
5.	HSÜ	Kuang-ling	Hai-hsi

6.	HUAN	P'ei-kuo	Hsiang
7.	K'UNG	Lu-kuo	Lu
8.	KUO	Ying-ch'uan	Yang-ti
9.	LIU	Nan-yang	An-chung
10.	T'AO	Tan-yang	Tan-yang
11.	TENG	Nan-yang	(Hsin-yeh)
12.	T'ENG	Pei-hai	Chü
13.	TSUNG	Nan-yang	An-chung
14.	WEN	T'ai-yüan	Ch'i

It should be noted that several of the above surnames appear in the sources later. I will make a combined list of all the surnames that appear in the same locations throughout the early medieval period later in the chapter and analyze the results.

2a. Clans that continue from the Three Kingdoms period into Chin:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CH'EN	Lin-huai (Kuang-ling)	Tung-yang
2.	CHENG	Hsing-yang (Ho-nan)	K'ai-feng
3.	CHI	Ch'iao	Chih
4.	CHIA	Wu-wei	Ku-tsang
5.	CHIA	P'ing-yang (Ho-tung)	Hsiang-ling
6.	CH'EN	Wu-i (An-p'ing)	Kuan-chih
7.	CHOU	I-hsing (Wu)	Yang-hsien
8.	CHU-KO	Lang-ya	Yang-tu
9.	CHUNG	Ying-ch'uan	Ch'ang-she
10.	FU	Pei-ti	Ni-yang (Ling-chou)
11.	HO	Ch'en-kuo	Yang-hsia
12.	HO	Ju-nan	Hsi-p'ing
13.	HSIA-HOU	Ch'iao-kuo (P'ei-kuo)	Ch'iao
14.	HSÜN	Ying-ch'uan	Ying-yin
15.	HU	Huai-nan (Ch'u-kuo)	Shou-ch'un
16.	HUA	P'ing-yüan	Kao-t'ang
17.	HUAN	Ch'iao-kuo (P'ei)	Lung-k'ang
18.	HUANG-FU	An-ting	Ch'ao-na
19.	JUAN	Ch'en-liu	Wei-shih
20.	KAO	Ch'en-liu	Yü-ch'eng (Yü)
21.	KU	Wu	Wu
22.	KUO	T'ai-yüan	Yang-chu
23.	LI	Chiang-hsia	Chung-wu (P'ing-ch'un)
24.	LIU	Nan-yang	(An-chung)

25.	LIU	P'ei-kuo	Hsiang
26.	LU	Cho	Cho
27.	LU	Wu	Wu
28.	P'EI	Ho-tung	Wen-hsi
29.	SUN	T'ai-yüan	Chung-tu
30.	TS'AI	Ch'en-liu	Yü-ch'eng
31.	TS'UI	Ching-ho	Tung-wu-ch'eng
32.	TS'UI	Po-ling (Cho)	An-p'ing
33.	TU	Ching-chao	Tu-ling
34.	WANG	Shan-yang	Kao-p'ing
35.	WANG	T'ai-yüan	Chin-yang
36.	WANG	Tung-hai	T'an
37.	WEN	T'ai-yüan	Ch'i
38.	YANG	T'ai-shan	Nan-ch'eng (P'ing-yang)
39.	YANG	Hung-nung	Hua-yin
40.	YING	Ju-nan	Nan-tun
41.	YÜ	K'uai-chi	Yü-yao
42.	YÜ	Ying-ch'uan	Yen-ling
43.	YÜAN	Ch'en	Yang-hsia (Fu-lo)

As the above list reveals, more clans carried over from the Three Kingdoms period into the Chin than had been the case with the Later Han clans, thirty-two of whom survived into the Three Kingdoms period. Sixteen of the thirty-two clans that carried over from the Later Han into the Three Kingdoms period (i.e. exactly half) continued to play a prominent role under the Chin as well. The other sixteen clans disappeared from the national scene, but twenty-five new clans emerged to take their place.

Again, there are surnames that appear in the same locations, for which family connections cannot be established.

2b. Surnames that appear in both the Three Kingdoms period and Chin, where direct family ties cannot be established:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CHEN	Lu-chiang (Sung-tzu)	Sung-tzu (Hsün-yang)
2.	HSIEH	K'uai-chi	Shan-yin
3.	HSÜ	Tung-kuan	(Ku-mu)
4.	HUAN	Ch'ang-sha	(Lin-hsiang)
5.	K'UNG	Lu-kuo	Lu
6.	KUO	Hsi-p'ing	
8.	MENG	Ho-nan	Lo-yang
9.	P'AN	Wu-ling	Han-shou
10.	SUN	Lo-an	

11.	T'AO	Tan-yang	(Mo-ling)
12.	TU	Shu	Ch'eng-tu
13.	WANG	Lang-ya	Lin-i
14.	WANG	Tung-lai	(Ch'ü-ch'eng)
15.	WEI	Ching-chao	
16.	WEN	T'ai-yüan	Ch'i
17.	YEN	T'ien-shui	(Hsi-ch'eng)

Here also, several of the above surnames appear in the sources later, but none belong to clans that had survived from the Later Han period. Only five of them are among the surnames that had appeared in the same locations during the Later Han and the Three Kingdoms period, where direct family relations cannot be established. These five clans, the Hsiehs from K'uai-chi, Shan-yin, the K'ungs from Lu-kuo, Lu, the Lius from Nan-yang, An-ch'ung, the T'aos from Tan-yang, and the Wens from T'ai-yüan, Ch'i, evidently continued to play a marginally important role: they were undoubtedly powerful locally, but of no great significance on the national scene. They certainly did not control national politics, and do not therefore constitute a national elite. They will be analyzed later with all similar cases.

3a. Clans that continue from Chin into Liu Sung:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CHAI	Hsün-yang	Ch'ai-sang
2.	CH'U	Ho-nan	Yang-ti
3.	FAN	Shun-yang	Shan-yin
4.	HO	Lu-chiang	Ts'an
5.	HSIEH	Ch'en	Yang-hsia
6.	HSÜ	Tung-hai	T'an
7.	HSÜ	Tung-kuan	Ku-mu
8.	HSÜN	Ying-ch'uan	Ying-yin (Lin-ying)
9.	JUAN	Ch'en-liu	Wei-shih
10.	K'UNG	K'uai-chi	Shan-yin
11.	LIU	Nan-yang	Nieh-yang
12.	MAO	Ying-yang	Yang-wu
13.	SHEN	Wu-hsing	Wu-k'ang
14.	TAI	Ch'iao (Ch'iao-kuo)	Chih
15.	WANG	Lang-ya	Lin-i
16.	YIN	Ch'en	Ch'ang-p'ing
17.	YÜ	Ying-ch'uan	Yen-ling
18.	YÜAN	Ch'en	Yang-hsia

At first glance it is evident that fewer clans carried over from the Chin into the Liu Sung than had been the case before — either with the clans which sur-

vived from the Later Han into the Three Kingdoms period (32), or with the clans which survived from the Three Kingdoms period into the Chin (42). Carry-over decreased by over 50% compared to the immediately preceding period. But more significantly, only three of the forty-one clans that had carried over from the Three Kingdoms period into the Chin, or only 7.32%, continued to play a prominent role under the Liu Sung as well. (It should be remembered that the comparable number for the preceding period was sixteen, or fully 50%). This means that thirty-eight clans disappeared from the national scene during this period, and it would seem that fifteen new ones emerged to take their place.

This would represent a dramatic departure from the rule set by earlier dynasties, if it were not for a discovery resulting from a close look at the list of surnames that appear in the same locations without established direct family connections.

3b. Surnames that appear in both Chin and Liu Sung, where direct family ties cannot be established:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CHANG	Wu	Wu
2.	CHENG	Hsing-yang	K'ai-feng
3.	CHOU	Ju-nan	An-ch'eng
4.	CHU	I-yang	P'ing-shih
5.	FAN	Wu	Ch'ien-t'ang
6.	FU	Pei-ti	Ni-yang
7.	HO	Tung-hai	T'an
8.	HSIANG	Ho-nei	Shan-yang
9.	JEN	Lo-an	Po-ch'ang
10.	KU	Wu	Wu
11.	KUNG	Wu-ling	Han-shou
12.	K'UNG	Lu-kuo	Lu
13.	KUO	Wu-ch'ang	Wu-ch'ang
14.	LIU	P'ei-kuo	Hsiang (Hsiao)
15.	LIU	P'eng-ch'eng	?
16.	LU	Fu-feng	Mei
17.	LU	Wu	Wu
18.	P'EI	Ho-tung	Wen-hsi
19.	SUN	T'ai-yüan	Chung-tu
20.	SUN	Wu	Fu-yang
21.	T'AN	Kao-p'ing	P'ing-chih
22.	TS'UI	Ch'ing-ho	?
23.	TU	Ching-chao	Tu-ling
24.	WANG	T'ai-yüan	Chin-yang
25.	YANG	T'ai-shan	Nan-ch'eng

This list reveals that ten additional clans from the Three Kingdoms period survived into the Liu Sung, but the clan members known in Liu Sung times are not direct descendants of the ones who were prominent during the Three Kingdoms period and under the Chin. The ten clans are: the Hsing-yang Chengs, the Pei-ti Fus, the Wu-chün Kus, the P'ei-kuo Lius, the Wu-chün Lus, the Ho-tung P'eis, the T'ai-yüan Suns, the Ching-chao Tus, the T'ai-yüan Wangs and the T'ai-shan Yangs. So ten of the thirty-eight clans mentioned above did not completely disappear. Their clan members are still mentioned in the sources, but their status was obviously diminished. Many of these clans continue to appear in the sources for the early medieval period, indicating varying levels of importance at different times.

The revelation that these clans did not completely disappear from the social and political scene makes the secondary lists of surnames for which direct family ties cannot be established extremely important. We should also note that this time the secondary list of unconnected surnames is longer, perhaps in proportion to the shortness of the main list of the established, continuing clans for the same period.

4a. Clans that continue from Liu Sung into Southern Ch'i:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CHANG	Wu	Wu
2.	CHIANG	Chi-yang	K'ao-ch'eng
3.	CH'U	Ho-nan	Yang-ti
4.	FU	Pei-ti	Ling-chou
5.	HO	Lu-chiang	Ts'an
6.	HSIAO	Nan-lan-ling	Lan-ling
7.	HSIEH	Ch'en	Yang-hsia
8.	HSÜ	Tung-hai	T'an
9.	KU	Wu	Wu
10.	LIU	P'eng-ch'eng	P'eng-ch'eng
11.	LIU	Tung-kuan	Chü
12.	P'EI	Ho-tung	Wen-hsi
13.	SHEN	Wu-hsing	Wu-k'ang
14.	TS'AI	Chi-yang	Kao-ch'eng
15.	TS'UI	Ch'ing-ho	Tung-wu-ch'eng
16.	TSUNG	Nan-yang	Nieh-yang
17.	WANG	Lang-ya	Lin-i
18.	YIN	Ch'en	Ch'ang-p'ing
19.	YÜAN	Ch'en	Yang-hsia

The number of clans that carried over from the Liu Sung into the Southern Ch'i (19) is similar to that for the immediately preceding period (18). Moreover, eight of the eighteen clans that had carried over from the Chin into the Liu Sung

period, or 44.44%, continued to play a prominent role under the Southern Ch'i as well. This means that sometime during this period ten clans lost their position on the national scene, and eleven new ones emerged to take their place.

A look at the list of surnames that appear in the same locations without established direct family connections may reveal that some additional clan survived the transition to the new dynasty:

4b. Surnames that appear in both Liu Sung and Southern Ch'i, where direct family ties cannot be established:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CH'IU	Wu-hsing	Wu-ch'eng
2.	CH'U	Wu	Wu
3.	CHOU	Ju-nan	An-ch'eng
4.	JUAN	Ch'en-liu	Wei-shih
5.	HU	Yü-chang	Nan-ch'ang
6.	K'UNG	K'uai-chi	Shan-yin
7.	K'UNG	Lu	Lu
8.	LIU	Nan-yang	Hieh-yang
9.	LIU	P'ei-kuo	Hsiang (Hsiao)
10.	LU	Wu	Wu
11.	T'AN	Kao-p'ing	Chin-hsiang
12.	TSANG	Tung-kuan	Chü
13.	YÜ	Ying-ch'uan	Yen-ling

Only four additional clans from the Chin period survived into the Southern Ch'i (the Ch'en-liu Juans, the K'uai-chi K'ungs, the Nan-yang Lius and the Ying-ch'uan Yüs), but the clan members mentioned in the Southern Ch'i sources are not direct descendants of those who were prominent during the Chin and the Liu Sung.

5a. Clans that continue from Southern Ch'i into Liang:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CHANG	Wu	Wu
2.	CHIANG	Chi-yang	K'ao-ch'eng
3.	CHOU	Ju-nan	An-ch'eng
4.	CH'U	Ho-nan	Yang-ti
5.	FU	Pei-ti	Ling-chou
6.	HO	Lu-chiang	Tsen
7.	HSIAO	(Nan) Lan-ling	Lan-ling
8.	HSIEH	Ch'en	Yang-hsia

9.	LIU	Ho-tung	Chieh
10.	LIU	Nan-yang	Nieh-yang
11.	LIU	P'eng-ch'eng	P'eng-ch'eng
12.	LIU	P'ing-yüan	P'ing-yüan
13.	LU	Wu	Wu
14.	MING	P'ing-yüan	Ko
15.	SHEN	Wu-hsing	Wu-k'ang
16.	TAO	P'eng-ch'eng	Wu-yüan
17.	TS'AI	Chi-yang	K'ao-ch'eng
18.	TSUNG	Nan-yang	Nieh-yang
19.	WANG	Lang-ya	Lin-i
20.	WANG	P'ei-kuo	Hsiang
21.	YIN	Ch'en	Ch'ang-p'ing
22.	YÜAN	Ch'en	Yang-hsia

This time twenty-two clans carried over from the Southern Ch'i into Liang, and fourteen of these clans represent already a carry-over from the Liu Sung. This represents a significant increase in the number of clans that carried over for more than two dynasties. Compared to the 44.44% that carried over from the Chin into the Southern Ch'i, these fourteen clans represent 73.68% of the nineteen clans that had carried over from the Liu Sung into the Southern Ch'i. The remaining five clans can be found among the surnames that appear in the same locations, but for whom direct family connections cannot be established.

5b. Surnames that appear in both Southern Ch'i and Liang, where direct family ties cannot be established:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CH'IU	Wu-hsing	Wu-ch'eng
2.	CHU	Wu	Ch'ien-t'ang
3.	HSÜ	Tung-hai	T'an
4.	JEN	Lo-an	Po-ch'ang
5.	JUAN	Ch'en-liu	Wei-shih (Yü-yao)
6.	KU	Wu	Wu (Yen-kuan)
7.	K'UNG	K'uai-chi	Shan-yin
8.	LIU	P'ei-kuo	Hsiang
9.	LIU	Tung-kuan	Chü
10.	P'EI	Ho-tung	Wen-hsi
11.	TSANG	Tung-kuan	Chü
12.	TS'UI	Ch'ing-ho	Tung-wu-ch'eng
13.	WANG	Tung-hai	T'an
14.	YÜ	Hsin-yeh	Hsin-yeh
15.	YÜ	Ying-ch'uan	Yen-ling

The five clans are: the Tung-hai Hsüs, the Wu-chün Kus, the Tung-kuan Lius, the Ho-tung Shens and the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis — indeed clans that keep appearing throughout the early medieval history. They did not completely disappear in the transition from the Southern Ch'i to Liang, but their influence decreased compared to that of the other clans, and relative to their own influence a dynasty earlier. But if we take their presence on the unconnected surname list to mean their continuing presence in the political life of the day, then 100% of the clans that had carried over from the Liu Sung into the Southern Ch'i carried over into the Liang period. And that means that only three new clans appeared on the national stage during the Southern Ch'i.

6a. Clans that continue from Liang into Ch'en:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CHANG	Wu	Wu
2.	CHIANG	Chi-yang	K'ao-ch'eng
3.	CHOU	Ju-nan	An-ch'eng
4.	HSIAO	Lan-ling	Lan-ling
5.	HSIEH	Ch'en	Yang-hsia
6.	HSÜ	Kao-yang	Hsin-ch'eng
7.	HSÜ	Tung-hai	T'an
8.	LIU	Ho-tung	Chieh
9.	LIU	Nan-yang	Nieh-yang
10.	LU	Wu	Wu
11.	P'EI	Ho-tung	Wen-hsi
12.	SHEN	Wu-hsing	Wu-k'ang
13.	TAO	P'eng-ch'eng	Wu-yüan
14.	TS'AI	Chi-yang	K'ao-ch'eng
15.	WANG	Lang-ya	Lin-i
16.	WEI	Ching-chao	Tu-ling
17.	YIN	Wu-wei	Ku-tsang
18.	YÜ	Ying-ch'uan	Yen-ling
19.	YÜAN	Ch'en	Yang-hsia

At nineteen, the number of clans that carried over from the Liang into the Ch'en is very similar to the numbers of comparable earlier carry-overs starting with the Chin dynasty. (It should be recalled that the numbers were much higher prior to that: thirty-two from the Later Han into the Three Kingdoms period, and forty-one from the Three Kingdoms period into the Chin). Twelve of these nineteen clans can be found among the twenty-two clans that had carried over into the Liang from the Southern Ch'i. Compared to the 44.44% of the nineteen clans that carried over from the Chin into the Southern Ch'i, and the 73.68% of the nineteen

clans that carried over from the Liu Sung into the Liang,⁶ these twelve represent 54.54% of the carried-over clans from the Southern Ch'i that lasted for more than one dynasty.

It should be noted how similar the lists of prominent clans for successive Southern dynasties have become. One has grown accustomed to encountering familiar surnames, regardless of the dynasty.

6b. Surnames that appear in both Liang and Ch'en, where direct family ties cannot be established:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CH'U	Ho-nan	Yang-ti
2.	FU	Pei-ti	Ling-chou
3.	HO	K'uai-chi	Shan-yin
4.	HO	Lu-chiang	Ts'an
5.	HSI	An-ting	
6.	HSÜN	Ying-chou	Ying-yin
7.	JUAN	Ch'en-liu	Wei-shih
8.	KU	Wu	Wu
9.	K'UNG	Kuai-chi	Shan-yin
10.	LIU	P'ei-kuo	Hsiang
11.	MA	Fu-feng	Mei
12.	SSU-MA	Ho-nei	Wen
13.	WANG	T'ai-yüan	Ch'i
14.	WANG	T'ai-yüan	Chin-yang
15.	YEN	Lang-ya	Lin-i
16.	YIN	Ch'en	Ch'ang-p'ing

The surnames of four additional clans that carried-over from the Southern Ch'i into the Liang can be found among the surnames that appear in the same locations under the Ch'en, but for whom direct family connections cannot be established. The four are: the Ho-nan Ch'us, the P'ei-ti Fus, the Lu-chiang Hos and the Ch'en-chün Yins — all names well known from previous dynasties. If we count them among the number of clans that carried over from the Southern Ch'i, with the proviso that their influence may have declined, the percentage of carry-overs suddenly rises to 72.72%.

⁶ This number jumps to 100% if one includes the clans found on the auxiliary surname list. See above.

7a. Clans that continue from Chin into T'o-pa Wei:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	LU	Fan-yang	Cho
2.	MAO	Hsing-yang	Yang-wu
3.	P'EI	Ho-tung	Wen-hsi
4.	SSU-MA	Ho-nei	Wen
5.	TIAO	Po-hai	Jao-an
6.	TS'UI	Ching-ho	Tung-wu-ch'eng
7.	TS'UI	Po-ling	An-p'ing
8.	TU	Ching-chao	Tu-ling
9.	WANG	Lang-ya	Lin-i
10.	YANG	T'ai-shan	Chü-p'ing

The number of clans which retained their national status during the transition from the Chin to the first of the Northern Dynasties, the T'o-pa Wei, is unusually low. At ten, it is much lower than the carry-over between any of the Southern Dynasties, and particularly low when compared to the carry-over in the preceding period — from the Three Kingdoms period into the Chin — which was 42. Compared to that period, the number of carry-overs dropped by 76%.

Six of the ten clans had already survived from the Three Kingdoms period into the Chin. Five of them are clans for whom genealogies can be drawn based on material in the dynastic histories: the Ho-tung P'eis, the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis, the Po-ling Ts'uis, the Ching-chao Tus, and the T'ai-shan Yangs. The sixth clan, the Ssu-mas, were the ruling family of the Chin, and although their genealogy has not been included in this study for that reason, their ancestors were high officials of the Wei Kingdom during the Three Kingdoms period.

So, while fully 60% of the clans that carried over from the Chin into the T'o-pa Wei originated during the Three Kingdoms period, only five of the forty-two clans that carried over from the Three Kingdoms to the Chin survived into the T'o-pa Wei.⁷ This number is relatively close to the number of clans which originated in the Three Kingdoms period and carried over into the Chin and the Liu Sung dynasty in the South, namely three. In the North, therefore, the percentage of clans from the Three Kingdoms period that survived beyond the Chin is slightly higher at close to 12%. It would appear, then, that thirty-seven clans disappeared from the national scene during the Chin period, while only four new ones rose to take their place.

It should also be noted that some members of the Lang-ya Wangs were already

⁷ This number does not include the Chin imperial family, the Ssu-mas, since they were not on the original list of carry-overs from the Three Kingdoms period.

mentioned in the Three Kingdoms sources, but they could not be connected directly with the clan members that became so prominent under the Chin, and that continued to exert their influence under the Northern T'o-pa Wei dynasty, while being far more influential in the political and social life of all the Southern Dynasties.

But we should take a closer look at the surnames that appear in the same locations in both the Chin and the T'o-pa Wei sources.

7b. Surnames that appear in both Chin and T'o-pa Wei,
where direct family ties cannot be established:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CHANG	Nan-yang	Hsi-o
2.	CHENG	Hsing-yang	K'ai-feng
3.	CH'ENG	Kuang-p'ing	Ch'ü-chou (Ch'ü-an)
4.	CHIA	Wu-wei	Ku-tsang
5.	HAN	Nan-yang	Che-yang (Tu-yang) ⁸
6.	HSIA-HOU	Ch'iao-kuo	Ch'iao
7.	HSIN	Lung-hsi	Ti-tao
8.	HSÜ	Tan-yang	(Chü-jung)
9.	HU	An-ting	Lin-ching
10.	KUO	T'ai-yüan	Chin-yang
11.	LI	Liao-tung	Hsiang-p'ing
12.	LI	Lung-hsi	Ti-tao
13.	LIU	Chung-shan	Wei-ch'ang (Lu-nu)
14.	LIU	P'eng-ch'eng	
15.	LIU	P'ing-yüan	P'ing-yüan (Kao-t'ang)
16.	LU	Tai	
17.	SHEN	Wu-hsing	Wu-k'ang
18.	SO	Tun-huang	
19.	SUN	Lo-an	
20.	SUNG	Tun-huang	
21.	TS'AO	Ch'iao-kuo	Chiao
22.	TSU	Fan-yang	Ch'iu
23.	WANG	T'ai-yüan	Chin-yang
24.	WEN	T'ai-yüan	Ch'i
25.	YANG	T'ien-shui	Chi
26.	YÜAN	Ch'en	Yang-hsia

This list reveals that seven additional clans survived into the T'o-pa Wei dynasty, but since their members cannot be directly connected to their predecessors in pre-

⁸ The *Chin shu* has Tu-yang, the *Wei shu* has Che-yang.

vious dynasties, we conclude that the power of these clans weakened on the national level. These clans are: the Chengs from Hsing-yang, the Chias from Wu-wei, the Hsia-hous from Ch'iao-kuo, the Kuos from T'ai-yüan, the Wangs from T'ai-yüan, the Wens from T'ai-yüan and the Yüans from Ch'en-chün. This means that of the above-mentioned thirty-seven clans only thirty completely disappeared from political life under the T'o-pas.

8a. Clans that continue from T'o-pa Wei into Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CHENG	Hsing-yang	K'ai-feng
2.	CH'IH-LIEH	Tai	
3.	FANG	Ch'ing-ho	I-mu
4.	FENG	Po-hai	Tiao
5.	HO-PA	Shen-wu	Chien-shan
6.	HSING	Ho-chien	Mo (Cheng)
7.	HSÜEH	Ho-tung	Fen-yin
8.	JI-CHU	Pei-hsiu	Jung
9.	LI	Chao-chün	Po-jen
10.	LIU	P'eng-ch'eng	Ts'ung-t'ing-li
11.	LOU	Tai	P'ing-ch'eng
12.	LU	Fan-yang	Cho
13.	SUNG	Kuang-p'ing	Lieh-jen
14.	TSU	Fan-yang	Ch'iu
15.	TS'UI	Ch'ing-ho	Tung-wu-ch'eng
16.	TS'UI	Po-ling	An-p'ing
17.	WANG	Pei-hai	Chü
18.	YANG	T'ai-shan	Chü-p'ing
19.	YAO	Shang-tang	Ch'ang-tzu
20.	YÜAN	Ch'en	Yang-hsia (Hsiang)

The number of clans that carried over from the T'o-pa Wei dynasty into the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i is very similar to the numbers of carry-overs between all the succeeding Southern Dynasties. (Those numbers ranged from 18 to 22, with the median number of 19.5). Of the twenty clans, four are a carry-over from the Chin. That means that four of the ten clans that had retained national prominence under both the Chin and the T'o-pa Wei, or 40% of them, continued to play an important role nationally under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i as well. This number in terms of percentages is, once again, strikingly similar to the number of Chin clans that carried over into the Southern Ch'i in the South, which was 44.44%.

This also means that six Chin clans lost their national status, while sixteen new

ones rose to replace them. Of the remaining six clans that had carried over from the Chin, three can be found among the surnames that appear in the same locations in both the T'o-pa and the Northern Ch'i sources, but whose bearers cannot be directly connected.

8b. Surnames that appear in both T'o-pa Wei and Eastern Wei/
Northern Ch'i, where direct family ties cannot be established:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CHANG	Ho-nei	Hsiu-wu
2.	CHAO	Nan-yang	Wan
3.	CHIANG	Chi-yang	K'ao-ch'eng
4.	FAN	Tai	P'ing-ch'eng
5.	HAN	Ch'ang-li	
6.	HOU-MU-CH'EN	Tai	
7.	HSIAO	Lan-ling	Lan-ling
8.	HSÜ	Kao-yang	Hsin-ch'eng
9.	HSÜ	Tan-yang	
10.	HU	An-ting	Lin-ching
11.	KAO	Po-hai	T'iao
12.	LI	Po-hai	T'iao
13.	LIU	Tai	
14.	MENG	Chü-lu	An-kuo
15.	P'EI	Ho-tung	Wen-hsi
16.	P'ING	Yen-kuo	Chi
17.	SSU-MA	Ho-nei	Wen
18.	SUI	Chao	Kao-i
19.	SUN	Hsien-yang	Shih-an
20.	SUN	Lo-an	
21.	SUNG	Tun-huang	Hsiao-ku
22.	TIAO	Po-hai	Jao-an
23.	WANG	T'ai-yüan	Chin-yang
24.	WEI	Tai	
25.	YANG	Hung-nung	Hua-yin
26.	YANG	Pei-p'ing (Yü-pei-p'ing)	Wu-chung

The three clans are the Ho-tung P'ei, the Ho-nei Ssu-ma and the Po-hai Tiao. Their status appears to have suffered a setback sometime in the transition from the T'o-pa Wei to the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i, for they no longer stand shoulder to shoulder with the most prominent Northern clans. Only three Chin clans that had carried over into the T'o-pa Wei period completely lost their status under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i. Those were the Hsing-yang Maos, the Ching-chao Tus, and the Lang-ya Wangs.

9a. Clans that continue from T'o-pa Wei into Western Wei/Northern Chou:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CH'ANG-SUN	Tai (Ho-nan) ⁹	(Lo-yang)
2.	CHENG	Hsing-yang	K'ai-feng
3.	HSÜEH	Ho-tung	Fen-yin
4.	K'OU	Shang-ku	Ch'ang-p'ing
5.	LI	Liao-tung	Hsiang-p'ing
6.	LI	Tun-ch'iu	Lin-huang
7.	LU	Fan-yang	Cho
8.	LU	Tai	
9.	SHEN	Wei	
10.	SSU-MA	Ho-nei	Wen
11.	TS'UI	Ch'ing-ho	Tung-wu-ch'eng
12.	TS'UI	Po-ling	An-p'ing
13.	YANG	Hung-nung	Hua-yin

Although lower than the number of clans that had carried over from the T'o-pa Wei into the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i (20), the carry-over from the T'o-pa Wei into the Western Wei/Northern Chou is still considerably higher than that from the Chin into the T'o-pa Wei. In addition to these fourteen clans, Hou-mo-ch'en Yüeh from the Tai commandery receives biographies in dynastic sources for both dynasties, but not enough of his relatives are mentioned to fulfill our basic requirement of at least three individuals spread over at least three generations to be considered a clan that survived from one dynasty to the other.¹⁰ Similarly, Tung Shao from Hsin-ts'ai, T'ung-yang, appears in both dynastic histories, but cannot be considered a representative of a surviving clan.¹¹

Of the fourteen clans that carried over from the T'o-pa Wei into the Western Wei/Northern Chou, four were already a carry-over from the Chin. This means that four of the ten clans that had retained national prominence under both the Chin and the T'o-pa Wei, or 40% of them, continued to play an important role also under the Western Wei/Northern Chou. Exactly the same number of clans (4) carried over from the Chin, through the T'o-pa Wei, and into the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i.¹² In fact, three of the four clans that retained their prominence after the T'o-pa Wei are identical for both the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i and the Western Wei/Northern Chou. Those clans are: the Lus from Fan-yang, the Ts'uis from Ch'ing-ho and the Ts'uis from Po-ling. In addition, the Yangs from T'ai-shan

⁹ The Ch'ang-sun clan originated in the Tai commandery, but by the Northern Chou it adopted Ho-nan, Lo-yang, as its choronym.

¹⁰ Those biographies are in WS 80/1784 and CHO 14/225. There are other Hou-mo-ch'ens under the Chou dynasty, but none of them are related.

¹¹ His biographies can be found in WS 79/1758 and CHO 38/683.

¹² It should also be recalled that this number, in terms of percentages, resembles strikingly the number of Chin clans that had carried over into the Southern Ch'i in the South, which stood at 44.44%.

are the clan that survived into the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i, while the Ssu-mas from Ho-nei carried over into the Western Wei/Northern Chou.

It would appear that six Chin clans lost their national status sometime during the T'o-pa Wei period or during the transition from the T'o-pa Wei to the Western Wei/Northern Chou, while ten new ones rose to replace them. Of the remaining six clans that had carried over from the Chin, three can be found among the surnames that appear in the same locations in both the T'o-pa and the Western Wei/Northern Chou sources, but whose bearers cannot be directly connected. Again, this is exactly the same number of surnames (3) that one finds among the six remaining clans in the case of the T'o-pa Wei and the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i.

9b. Surnames that appear in both T'o-pa Wei and Northern Chou, where direct family ties cannot be established:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CHAO	Nan-yang	Wan ¹³
2.	CHAO	T'ien-shui	Nan-an (Hsi, Po-shih) ¹⁴
3.	CHEN	Chung-shan	Wu-chi ¹⁵
4.	HAN	Nan-yang	Tu-yang (Chu-yang) ¹⁶
5.	HOU-MO-CH'EN	Tai ¹⁷	
6.	HSIAO	Lan-ling ¹⁸	
7.	HSIN	Lung-hsi	Ti-tao
8.	KAO	Po-hai	T'iao (Hsiu) ¹⁹
9.	KENG	Chü-lu	Sun-tzu ²⁰
10.	KUO	T'ai-yüan	Chin-yang, P'ing-yao, Yang-ch'ü ²¹

¹³ Chao Yung who has a biography in WS 93/2003 claimed to be from Nan-yang, but the authors of the *Wei shu* did not take the claim for granted.

¹⁴ Most Chao from the T'ien-shui commandery are not from the same district: those in WS 87/1890 are from Po-shih, those in CHO 33/576 from Nan-an, and those from CHO 33/581 from Hsi. Biographies of the Chao in WS 52/1145 and WS 86/1882 mention no district, but the individuals cannot be connected to any of the other Chao. The biographies claim no relationship.

¹⁵ Chen Hsüan-ch'eng's biography in CHO 48/872 specifies no district in the Chung-shan commandery. No relationship is claimed, nor can it be established with the Chens from the Wu-chi district in WS 68/1509.

¹⁶ Note #21 in CHO 34/604 explains how the district's name varied under various dynasties. It is, however the same district.

¹⁷ Hou-mo-ch'eng Yüeh receives biographies in both the *Wei shu* and the *Chou shu*, but not enough of his relatives are mentioned to allow them a status of a clan that survives from one dynasty to the other. Other Hou-mo-ch'ens mentioned in the *Chou shu* are not related to him.

¹⁸ The Hsiao of Lan-ling were the Liang imperial family. The Hsiao mentioned in the *Wei shu* and the *Chou shu* are not directly related, but they all claim relationship with some Liang Hsiao.

¹⁹ The numerous Kaos from the T'o-pa Wei period are all from the T'iao district, while the one Po-hai Kao mentioned in CHO 37/670 claimed to be from the Hsiu district. His ancestors had just returned from Liao, and were in no way related to the Kaos from the T'o-pa Wei dynasty.

²⁰ Only one Keng Hsüan from Chü-lu, Sun-tzu, is mentioned in WS 91/1958. Keng Hao's biography in CHO 29/494 does not specify the district. No relationship is claimed.

²¹ None of the Kuos from T'ai-yüan mentioned under these two dynasties are from the same district. Those mentioned in the WS 64/1421 are from the Chin-yang district; the one from WS 86/1887 from the P'ing-yao district; those from CHO 37/666 from Yang-ch'ü. None of them are related.

11.	LI	Lung-hsi	Ch'eng-chi
12.	LI	Po-hai	T'iao
13.	LIU	Chung-shan	Lu-nu ²²
14.	LIU	Ho-tung	Chieh ²³
15.	LIU	P'eng-ch'eng	P'eng-ch'eng
16.	LÜ	Tung-p'ing	Shou-ch'ang
17.	P'EI	Ho-tung	Wen-hsi
18.	SHEN	Wu-hsing	Wu-k'ang
19.	TU	Ching-chao	Tu-ling ²⁴
20.	WANG	Ching-chao	Pa-ch'eng ²⁵
21.	WANG	Lang-ya	Lin-i ²⁶
22.	WANG	T'ai-yüan	Chin-yang (Ch'i) ²⁷
23.	WEI	Ching-chao	Tu-ling

In the case of the Western Wei/Northern Chou, the three clans were the Ho-tung P'eis, the Ching-chao Tus and the Lang-ya Wangs. Only the Ho-tung P'eis found themselves in the similar situation in both the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i and the Western Wei/Northern Chou. Their status appears to have suffered a setback sometime in the transition from the T'o-pa Wei. But these three clans probably retained a measure of prestige, if not a dominant role in national politics. The three Chin clans that had carried over into the T'o-pa Wei but completely lost their status under the Western Wei/Northern Chou were the Hsing-yang Maos, the Po-hai Tiaos and the T'ai-shan Yangs.

The number of clans which retained a national position through two dynasties can be summarized as follows:

— from Later Han into the Three Kingdoms	32
— from the Three Kingdoms into Chin	43
— from Chin into Liu Sung	18
— from Liu Sung into Southern Ch'i	19
— from Southern Ch'i into Liang	22
— from Liang into Ch'en	19
— from Chin into T'o-pa Wei	10
— from T'o-pa Wei into Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i	20
— from T'o-pa Wei into Western Wei/Northern Chou	13

²² Liu Liang's biography in CHO 17/284 gives no district.

²³ Many Ho-tung Lius from the *Chou shu* claim descent from Lius who served the Southern dynasties of Ch'i and Liang, but none are related to the ones mentioned in the *Wei shu*.

²⁴ No district name is given for the Ching-chao Tus mentioned in WS 45/1018.

²⁵ In addition to the Wangs from Ching-chao, Pa-ch'eng, mentioned in WS 71/1588 and in CHO 18/291, no district is given for the Ching-chao Wangs mentioned in WS 34/799. The Ching-chao Wangs in CHO 33/578 are from Lan-t'ien, and the ones in CHO 37/700 from Tu-ling. None of them are related.

²⁶ The Lang-ya Wangs from the *Chou shu* claim relationship with the Wangs who served under the Southern dynasties, not the ones who served the T'o-pa Wei. CHO 41/729, CHO 48/875.

²⁷ Besides the T'ai-yüan Wangs from the Chin-yang district mentioned in WS 38/875 and WS 93/1988 (both of which were self-claimed according to the *Wei shu*), and in CHO 36/638 and CHO 48/869, the ones mentioned in CHO 33/575 are from the district of Ch'i, while CHO 19/319 gives no district. None of them were related.

One sees clearly that the largest carry-over of clans occurs between the Three Kingdoms period and the Chin (42). That number is only slightly higher than the one for the carry-over from the Later Han into the Three Kingdoms period (32). On the other hand, the carry-over of clans from the Chin into the T'o-pa Wei is unusually low (10), and from the T'o-pa Wei into the Western Wei/Northern Chou only slightly higher (13). For the rest of the dynasties the carry-over is strikingly uniform — between 18 and 22 clans.

In his study of social mobility in Han times, based on the carry-over of influential clans from Former to Later Han, Bielenstein arrived at a figure that fits this "median number" perfectly.²⁸ Having excluded the K'ung clan from Lu as descendants of Confucius with very special status throughout Chinese history, and the Pan clan whose members had authored Han history, Bielenstein ended up with 22 clans of varied importance for the period of the two Han dynasties. Less than a dozen of these clans asserted themselves through most of the period. Bielenstein went on to conclude that survival on the national level was the exception and not the rule.

Only three of the clans identified by Bielenstein figure in my study:

1. The Pao clan from T'un-liu (T'ai-shan, P'ing-yang) continued into the Three Kingdoms period;
2. The Tu clan from Tu-ling (Ching-chao, Tu-ling) continued through the Three Kingdoms period and beyond;
3. The Yang clan from Hua-yin (Hung-nung, Hua-yin) continued through the Three Kingdoms period into Chin, and beyond.

These three clans represent a small proportion of the clans that carry over from Later Han into the Three Kingdoms period, and further into Chin. Indeed, for clans that were prominent during the Former Han, survival on the national level was an exception. But how did the 32 clans that played an important role starting from Later Han and continuing into the Three Kingdoms fare during the ensuing Chin dynasty? What role did the 42 clans that carried over from the Three Kingdoms into Chin play during the various Southern and Northern dynasties? In order to provide the answers, I have followed the same clans from the same localities through three successive dynasties, and compiled their genealogies wherever possible.

Below are lists of the clans which retained national position through three dynasties, for which genealogies can be drawn:

²⁸ Hans Bielenstein, "Regional Powers and National Factions" in *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty*, Vol. IV, pp. 72/125.

10. Clans that continue from the Later Han into Chin:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CHENG	Hsing-yang (Ho-nan)	K'ai-feng
2.	CHUNG	Ying-ch'uan	Ch'ang-she
3.	FU	Pei-ti	Ni-yang (Ling-chou)
4.	HO	Ch'en-kuo	Yang-hsia
5.	HSÜN	Ying-ch'uan	Ying-yin
6.	HUAN	Ch'iao-kuo (P'ei)	Lung-k'ang
7.	HUANG-FU	An-ting	Chao-na
8.	LU	Cho	Cho
9.	LU	Wu	Wu
10.	TS'AI	Ch'en-liu	Yü-ch'eng
11.	TS'UI	Po-ling (Cho)	An-p'ing
12.	WANG	Shan-yang	Kao-p'ing
13.	WANG	T'ai-yüan	Chin-yang
14.	YANG	Hung-nung	Hua-yin
15.	YANG	T'ai-shan	Nan-ch'eng (P'ing-yang)
16.	YING	Ju-nan	Nan-tun
17.	YÜ	Ying-ch'uan	Yen-ling

11. Clans that continue from the Three Kingdoms period into Liu Sung:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	HSÜN	Ying-ch'uan	Ying-yin
2.	JUAN	Ch'en-liu	Wei-shih
3.	YÜ	Ying-ch'uan	Yen-ling
4.	YÜAN	Ch'en	Yang-hsia (Fu-lo)

12. Clans that continue from the Three Kingdoms period into T'o-pa Wei:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	LU	Fan-yang	Cho
2.	P'EI	Ho-tung	Wen-hsi
3.	TS'UI	Ch'ing-ho	Tung-wu-ch'eng
4.	TS'UI	Po-ling (Cho)	An-p'ing
5.	TU	Ching-chao	Tu-ling
6.	YANG	T'ai-shan	Nan-ch'eng, P'ing-yang,
		Chü-p'ing	

13. Clans that continue from Chin into Southern Ch'i:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CH'U	Ho-nan	Yang-ti
2.	HO	Lu-chiang	Ts'an
3.	HSIEH	Ch'en	Yang-hsia
4.	HSÜ	Tung-hai	T'an
5.	SHEN	Wu-hsing	Wu-k'ang
6.	WANG	Lang-ya	Lin-i
7.	YIN	Ch'en	Ch'ang-p'ing
8.	YÜAN	Ch'en	Yang-hsia

14. Clans that continue from Chin into Northern Ch'i:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	LU	Fan-yang	Cho
2.	TS'UI	Ch'ing-ho	Tung-wu-ch'eng
3.	TS'UI	Po-ling	An-p'ing
4.	YANG	T'ai-shan	Chü-p'ing

15. Clans that continue from Chin into Northern Chou:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	LU	Fan-yang	Cho
2.	SSU-MA	Ho-nei	Wen
3.	TS'UI	Ch'ing-ho	Tung-wu-ch'eng
4.	TS'UI	Po-ling	An-p'ing

16. Clans that continue from Liu Sung into Liang:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CHANG	Wu	Wu
2.	CHIANG	Chi-yang	K'ao-ch'eng
3.	CH'U	Ho-nan	Yang-ti
4.	FU	Pei-ti	Ling-chou
5.	HO	Lu-chiang	Ts'an
6.	HSIAO	(Nan) Lan-ling	Lan-ling
7.	HSIEH	Ch'en	Yang-hsia
8.	LIU	P'eng-ch'eng	P'eng-ch'eng
9.	SHEN	Wu-hsing	Wu-k'ang
10.	TS'AI	Chi-yang	K'ao-ch'eng

11.	TSUNG	Nan-yang	Nieh-yang
12.	WANG	Lang-ya	Lin-i
13.	YIN	Ch'en	Ch'ang-p'ing
14.	YÜAN	Ch'en	Yang-hsia

17. Clans that continue from Southern Ch'i into Ch'en:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>Prefecture</u>
1.	CHANG	Wu	Wu
2.	CHIANG	Chi-yang	K'ao-ch'eng
3.	CHOU	Ju-nan	An-ch'eng
4.	HSIAO	(Nan) Lan-ling	Lan-ling
5.	HSIEH	Ch'en	Yang-hsia
6.	LIU	Ho-tung	Chieh
7.	LIU	Nan-yang	Nieh-yang
8.	LU	Wu	Wu
9.	SHEN	Wu-hsing	Wu-k'ang
10.	TAO	P'eng-ch'eng	Wu-yüan
11.	TS'AI	Chi-yang	K'ao-ch'eng
12.	WANG	Lang-ya	Lin-i
13.	YÜAN	Ch'en	Yang-hsia

The number of clans which retained national position through three dynasties can be summarized as follows:

— from Later Han into Chin	17
— from the Three Kingdoms into Liu Sung	4
— from the Three Kingdoms into T'o-pa Wei	6
— from Chin into Southern Ch'i	8
— from Chin into Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i	4
— from Chin into Western Wei/Northern Chou	4
— from Liu Sung into Liang	14
— from Southern Ch'i into Ch'en	13

Again, the number of clans that carried over from the Later Han into the Chin was unusually high (17). Clans that emerged during the Three Kingdoms period and during the Chin carried over in relatively small and uniform numbers (4-6) — the carry-over was slightly higher for the period between Chin and the Southern Ch'i when 8 clans survived. The number of clans that retained national prominence from the Liu Sung into the Liang and from the Southern Ch'i into the Ch'en was significantly higher (14 and 13 respectively).

As our figures show, the highest clan survival rate is for the period between the Later Han and Chin. For clans that emerged during the Three Kingdoms period

the survival rate is very low. This rate remains unchanged under the Northern dynasties (it is actually just over 23% of the rate for the Later Han through the Chin). It is only in the South that the number of carry-overs increases significantly, particularly after the Chin period.

The data can be further interfiled to show clans which retained national position for four consecutive dynasties. Below are the clans for which genealogies can be drawn:

18. Clans that continue from the Later Han into Liu Sung:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	HSÜN	Ying-ch'uan	Ying-yin
2.	YÜ	Ying-ch'uan	Yen-ling

19. Clans that continue from the Later Han into T'o-pa Wei:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	LU	Fan-yang (Cho)	Cho
2.	TS'UI	Po-ling (Cho)	An-p'ing
3.	YANG	T'ai-shan	Nan-ch'eng (P'ing-yang)

20. Clans that continue from the Three Kingdoms period into Southern Ch'i:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	YÜAN	Ch'en	Yang-hsia (Fu-lo)

21. Clans that continue from the Three Kingdoms period into Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	LU	Fan-yang	Cho
2.	TS'UI	Ch'ing-ho	Tung-wu-ch'eng
3.	TS'UI	Po-ling	An-p'ing
4.	YANG	T'ai-shan	Chü-p'ing

22. Clans that continue from the Three Kingdoms period into Western Wei/Northern Chou:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	LU	Fan-yang	Cho
2.	TS'UI	Ch'ing-ho	Tung-wu-ch'eng
3.	TS'UI	Po-ling	An-p'ing

23. Clans that continue from Chin into Liang:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CH'U	Ho-nan	Yang-ti
2.	HO	Lu-chiang	Ts'an
3.	HSIEH	Ch'en	Yang-hsia
4.	SHEN	Wu-hsing	Wu-k'ang
5.	WANG	Lang-ya	Lin-i
6.	YIN	Ch'en	Ch'ang-p'ing
7.	YÜAN	Ch'en	Yang-hsia

24. Clans that continue from Liu Sung into Ch'en:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	CHANG	Wu	Wu
2.	CHIANG	Chi-yang	K'ao-ch'eng
3.	HSIAO	(Nan) Lan-ling	Lan-ling
4.	HSIEH	Ch'en	Yang-hsia
5.	SHEN	Wu-hsing	Wu-k'ang
6.	TS'AI	Chi-yang	K'ao-ch'eng
7.	WANG	Lang-ya	Lin-i
8.	YÜAN	Ch'en	Yang-hsia

The number of clans which retained national status through four successive dynasties can be summarized as follows:

— from Later Han into Liu Sung	2
— from Later Han into T'o-pa Wei	3
— from the Three Kingdoms into Southern Ch'i	1
— from the Three Kingdoms into Northern Ch'i	4
— from the Three Kingdoms into Northern Chou	3
— from Chin into Liang	7
— from Liu Sung into Ch'en	8

The number of clans that retained prominence during four dynasties is very small and relatively uniform for all periods, except for the Southern clans which attained national status during the Chin and retained it into the Liang (7), and the clans which attained national status during the Liu Sung and retained it into the Ch'en dynasty (8). We may, therefore, conclude that it was easier for clans in the South to preserve their status, regardless of the passage of dynasties.

In fact, the above lists reveal that four of the seven clans that carried over from Chin into Liang retained their status beyond the Liang.

If we interfile the data further, we can extend this study to show clans that retained their national position for five consecutive dynasties. Following are the clans for whom genealogies can be drawn:

25. Clans that continue from the Later Han into Southern Ch'i:

none

26. Clans that continue from the Later Han into Northern Ch'i:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	LU	Fan-yang (Cho)	Cho
2.	TS'UI	Po-ling	An-p'ing
3.	YANG	T'ai-shan	Chü-p'ing

27. Clans that continue from the Later Han into Northern Chou:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	LU	Fan-yang (Cho)	Cho
2.	TS'UI	Po-ling	An-p'ing

28. Clans that continue from the Three Kingdoms into Liang:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	YÜAN	Ch'en	Yang-hsia (Fu-lo)

29. Clans that continue from Chin into Ch'en:

	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Commandery</u>	<u>District</u>
1.	HSIEH	Ch'en	Yang-hsia
2.	SHEN	Wu-hsing	Wu-k'ang
3.	WANG	Lang-ya	Lin-i
4.	YÜAN	Ch'en	Yang-hsia

The number of clans which retained national position through five successive dynasties can be summarized as follows:

— from Later Han into Southern Ch'i	0
— from Later Han into Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i	3
— from Later Han into Western Wei/Northern Chou	2
— from the Three Kingdoms into Liang	1
— from Chin into Ch'en	4

All the numbers are small, but we may observe that the Later Han clans endured much better in the North (3 and 2 versus 0 in the South). We have no way of making the comparison for the clans that originated during the Three Kingdoms period. The clans originating during the Chin and retaining national status through all the Southern Dynasties are the highest in number (4).

Finally, we may interfile the data for the clans that retained national position throughout six consecutive dynasties. This procedure is only possible for the Southern Dynasties, as there were only three Northern Dynasties, of which the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i (A.D. 534-577) and the Western Wei/Northern Chou (A.D. 535-581) existed concurrently. Although there were also the Sixteen Kingdoms of the Five Barbarians (A.D. 304-439), whose rule partly overlapped with that of the T'o-pa Wei in the North, their history is known to us only from the *Chin shu* and the *Wei shu*,²⁹ because they lack their own dynastic histories.³⁰

In the South, only one clan retained national position through six dynasties — the YÜAN clan from Ch'en, Yang-hsia — who carried over from the Three Kingdoms period into the last Southern Dynasty, the Ch'en.

The Ch'en-chün Yüans were the longest-lasting clan in early medieval China in terms of the number of dynasties that they survived and under which they served on the highest level. They were without doubt a great southern medieval clan. But they can be traced back only to the Three Kingdoms period. No southern clan can be traced back all the way to the Later Han dynasty.

²⁹ The *Pei shih* does not contain any additional material in this regard.

³⁰ Being kingdoms of the barbarians, they were not recognized by the Chinese as legitimate dynasties.

There were three Northern clans, however, that originated in the Later Han, and survived to the very end of the period of division:

- the Lus from Fan-yang, Cho;
- the Ts'uis from Po-ling, An-p'ing;
- the Yangs from T'ai-shan, Chü-p'ing.

Members of the Fan-yang Lu clan and the Po-ling Ts'ui clan were still active in national politics under both the last Northern dynasties, the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i and the Western Wei/Northern Chou, and they can be connected by a family tree with their ancestors through all the early medieval dynasties in the North back to the Later Han. Members of the Yang clan from T'ai-shan, who were still active in national politics under the Northern Ch'i, can similarly be connected by a family tree with their ancestors all the way back to the Later Han. In terms of time, therefore, these three northern clans were the longest-lasting clans in early medieval China.

As one of the three clans that originated in the Later Han and survived throughout the early medieval period well into the T'ang, the Po-ling Ts'uis should be the best case to support the contention that aristocratic families controlled China for centuries after the downfall of the Han, all the way into the T'ang. Yet, a look at the Ts'uis' genealogy shows only a few individuals of direct patrilineal descent for a good part of the medieval period, and then a proliferation of kin in the T'ang. In an exhaustive case study of the Po-ling Ts'uis, Ebrey has concluded that the terms used to describe the aristocratic families throughout the period underwent considerable and almost constant change. More importantly, her study also shows that the relationship between the state and the aristocratic families changed over time.³¹

If this can be said for the Po-ling Ts'uis — and Ebrey's study leaves no room for doubt — it must hold even more true for other clans, which were less enduring than the Ts'uis.

The following is a comprehensive list of all the early medieval clans that remained prominent beyond the duration of one dynasty. After each clan's name and choronym, dynasties under which the clan retained its prominent status are indicated:

³¹ Ebrey, *The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China*, pp. 116-119.

CHAI (Hsün-yang; Ch'ai-sang): Chin, Liu Sung
 CHANG (Chien-wei; Wu-yang): Later Han, Three Kingdoms
 CHANG (Cho/Fan-yang; Fang-ch'eng): Chin, Liang³²
 CHANG (Wu-chün; Wu): Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en
 CH'ANG-SUN (Tai-chün/Ho-nan; Lo-yang):³³ To-pa Wei, Northern Chou
 CH'EN (Lin-huai/Kuang-ling; Tung-yang): Three Kingdoms, Chin
 CH'EN (Ying-ch'uan; Hsü-ch'ang): Later Han, Three Kingdoms
 CHENG (Hsing-yang/Ho-nan; K'ai-feng): Later Han, Three Kingdoms, Chin, Liu Sung, T'o-pa Wei,³⁴ Northern Ch'i, Northern Chou
 CHI (Ch'iao-chün; Chih): Three Kingdoms, Chin
 CHIA (Ho-tung/P'ing-yang; Hsiang-ling): Three Kingdoms, Chin
 CHIA (Wu-wei; Ku-tsang): Three Kingdoms, Chin
 CHIANG (Ch'en-liu, Yü; Chi-yang, K'ao-ch'eng): Chin, Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en³⁵
 CH'IENT (Wu-i/An-p'ing; Kuan-chih): Three Kingdoms, Chin
 CHOU (I-hsing/Wu-chün; Yang-hsien): Three Kingdoms, Chin³⁶
 CHOU (Ju-nan; An-ch'eng): Chin, Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en
 CHOU (Lu-chiang; Shu): Later Han, Three Kingdoms
 CH'U (Ho-nan; Yang-ti): Chin, Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en
 CHU-KO (Lang-ya; Yang-tu): Three Kingdoms, Chin
 CHUNG (Ying-ch'uan; Ch'ang-she): Later Han, Three Kingdoms, Chin
 CHUNG-LI (K'uai-chi; Shan-yin): Later Han, Three Kingdoms
 ERH-CHU (Pei-hsiu; Jung): T'o-pa Wei, Northern Ch'i
 FA (Fu-feng; Mei): Later Han, Three Kingdoms
 FAN (Shun-yang; Shan-yin): Chin, Liu Sung
 FANG (Ch'ing-ho; I-mu): T'o-pa Wei, Northern Ch'i
 FENG (Po-hai; T'iao): T'o-pa Wei, Northern Ch'i
 FU (Pei-ti; Ni-yang, Ling-chou): Later Han, Three Kingdoms, Chin, Liu Sung,³⁷ Southern Ch'i, Liang
 HO (Ch'en-kuo; Yang-hsia): Later Han, Three Kingdoms, Chin
 HO (Ju-nan; Hsi-p'ing): Three Kingdoms, Chin
 HO (K'uai-chi; Shan-yin): Three Kingdoms, Chin, Liang
 HO (Lu-chiang; Ts'an): Chin, Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang
 HO (Tung-hai; T'an): Liu Sung, Liang

³² Clan members prominent under the Liang can be connected directly with those prominent under the Chin. The clan seems to have had lower status under the interceding dynasties of Liu Sung and Southern Ch'i. *Liang shu* mentions one title held under the Liu Sung.

³³ The Ch'ang-sun clan originated in the Tai commandery, but by the Northern Chou it adopted Ho-nan, Lo-yang, as its choronym.

³⁴ The connection between family members is broken between the Chin and the T'o-pa Wei.

³⁵ The Liu Sung Chiangs from Chi-yang, K'ao-ch'eng, were direct descendants of the Chin Chiangs from Ch'en-liu, Yü.

³⁶ One Chou from I-hsing was mentioned during Liang dynasty.

³⁷ The connection between family members is broken between the Chin and the Liu Sung.

HO-PA (Shen-wu; Chien-shan): T'o-pa Wei, Northern Chou, Northern Ch'i³⁸
 HSIA-HOU (Ch'iao-kuo/P'ei-kuo; Ch'iao): Three Kingdoms, Chin
 HSIAO (Nan-lan-ling; Lan-ling): Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en
 HSIEH (Ch'en; Yang-hsia): Chin, Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en
 HSING (Ho-chien; Mo/Cheng): T'o-pa Wei, Northern Ch'i³⁹
 HSÜ (Ju-nan; P'ing-yü): Later Han, Three Kingdoms
 HSÜ (Kao-yang; Hsin-ch'eng): Three Kingdoms, Liang, Ch'en
 HSÜ (Tung-hai; T'an): Chin, Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang,⁴⁰ Ch'en
 HSÜ (Tung-kuan; Ku-mu): Chin, Liu Sung
 HSÜEH (Ho-tung; Fen-yin): Liu Sung, T'o-pa Wei, Northern Chou
 HSÜN (Ying-ch'uan; Ying-yin/Lin-ying): Later Han, Three Kingdoms, Chin, Liu
 Sung, Liang
 HU (Huai-nan/Ch'u-kuo; Shou-ch'un): Three Kingdoms, Chin
 HUA (P'ing-yüan; Kao-t'ang): Three Kingdoms, Chin
 HUAN (Ch'iao-kuo/P'ei; Lung-k'ang): Later Han, Chin
 HUANG-FU (An-ting; Ch'ao-na): Later Han, Chin
 JUAN (Ch'en-liu; Wei-shih): Three Kingdoms, Chin; Liu Sung
 KAO (Ch'en-liu; Yü-ch'eng/Yü): Three Kingdoms, Chin
 K'OU (Shang-ku; Ch'ang-p'ing): T'o-pa Wei, Northern Chou
 KU (Wu-chün; Wu): Three Kingdoms, Chin, Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i
 K'UNG (K'uai-chi; Shan-yin): Chin, Liu Sung
 KUO (T'ai-yüan; Yang-chu): Three Kingdoms, Chin, T'o-pa Wei
 LAI (I-yang; Hsin-yeh): Later Han, Three Kingdoms
 LI (Chao-chün; Po-jen, Kao-i, P'ing-chi): T'o-pa Wei, Northern Ch'i
 LI (Chiang-hsia; Chung-wu/P'ing-ch'un): Three Kingdoms, Chin
 LI (Liao-tung; Hsiang-p'ing): Chin, T'o-pa Wei, Northern Chou⁴¹
 LI (Tun-ch'iu; Lin-huang): T'o-pa Wei, Northern Chou
 LIU (Chiang-hsia; Ching-ling): Later Han, Three Kingdoms
 LIU (Ho-tung; Chieh): Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en, Northern Chou⁴²
 LIU (Nan-yang/An-chung; Nieh-yang): Three Kingdoms, Chin, L. Sung, Liang, Ch'en
 LIU (P'ei-kuo; Hsiang): Three Kingdoms, Chin
 LIU (P'eng-ch'eng; P'eng-ch'eng/Ts'ung-t'ing-li): Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang;
 T'o-pa Wei, Northern Ch'i⁴³
 LIU (P'ing-yüan; P'ing-yüan): Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang, T'o-pa Wei⁴⁴

³⁸ The Northern Ch'i Ho-pas do not seem to be related to the T'o-pa Wei clan.

³⁹ Some Hsings from Ho-chien were already mentioned during the Three Kingdoms period, but their relationship with the later Hsings cannot be established.

⁴⁰ The connection between family members is broken between the Southern Ch'i and the Liang.

⁴¹ Some Liao-tung Lis were mentioned during Chin dynasty, too, but were not directly related to the later Lis.

⁴² Some Ho-tung Lius from Chieh were mentioned in the *Wei shu* but the other Lius cannot be connected to them.

⁴³ Some P'eng-ch'eng Lius were mentioned during Chin dynasty as well, but were not directly related to the later Lius.

⁴⁴ Some P'ing-yüan Lius were mentioned during Chin dynasty as well, but were not directly related to the later Lius.

LIU (Tung-kuan; Chü): Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang
 LIU (Tung-lai, Mou-p'ing): Later Han, Three Kingdoms
 LOU (Tai-chün; P'ing-ch'eng): T'o-pa Wei, Northern Ch'i
 LU (Fan-yang; Cho): L. Han, Three Kingdoms, Chin, T'o-pa Wei, N. Ch'i, N. Chou
 LU (Tai-chün): T'o-pa Wei, Northern Chou
 LU (Wu-chün; Wu): Later Han, Three Kingdoms, Chin, S. Ch'i,⁴⁵ Liang, Ch'en
 MAO (Hsing-yang; Yang-wu): Chin, T'o-pa Wei
 MING (P'ing-yüan; Ko): Southern Ch'i, Liang
 P'ANG (Nan-chün; Hsiang-yang): Later Han, Three Kingdoms
 PAO (T'ai-shan/Shang-tang; P'ing-yang/Tun-liu): Later Han, Three Kingdoms
 P'EI (Ho-tung; Wen-hsi): Three Kingdoms, Chin, Liu Sung,⁴⁶ Southern Ch'i, Liang,⁴⁷
 Ch'en; T'o-pa Wei
 SHEN (Wei-chün): Liu Sung, T'o-pa Wei, Northern Chou
 SHEN (Wu-hsing; Wu-k'ang): Chin, Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en;
 T'o-pa Wei, Northern Chou
 SSU-MA (Ho-nei; Wen): Chin, T'o-pa Wei, Northern Ch'i, Northern Chou
 SUN (T'ai-yüan; Chung-tu): Three Kingdoms, Chin
 SUNG (Kuang-p'ing; Lieh-jen): T'o-pa Wei, Northern Ch'i
 TAI (Ch'iao-kuo; Chih): Chin, Liu Sung
 TAO (P'eng-ch'eng; Wu-yüan): Southern Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en
 TIAO (Po-hai; Jao-an): Chin, T'o-pa Wei
 TS'AI (Ch'en-liu, Yü-ch'eng; Chi-yang, K'ao-ch'eng): Later Han, Three Kingdoms,
 Chin, Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en
 TS'AI (Nan-yang; Kuan-chün): Liu Sung, Liang
 TSANG (Tung-kuan, Chü): Liu Sung, Liang
 TS'AO (Hsin-yeh): Liu Sung, Liang
 TSU (Fan-yang; Ch'iu): T'o-pa Wei, Northern Ch'i
 TS'UI (Ch'ing-ho; Tung-wu-ch'eng): Three Kingdoms, Chin, Liu Sung, Southern
 Ch'i; T'o-pa Wei, Northern Ch'i, Northern Chou
 TS'UI (Po-ling/Cho; An-p'ing): Later Han, Three Kingdoms, Chin, T'o-pa Wei,
 Northern Ch'i, Northern Chou
 TS'UI (Tung-ch'ing-ho; Shu): T'o-pa Wei, Northern Ch'i
 TSUNG (Nan-yang; Nieh-yang): Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang
 TU (Ching-chao; Tu-ling): Three Kingdoms, Chin, T'o-pa Wei
 TU (Ying-ch'uan; Ting-ling): Later Han, Three Kingdoms
 TUNG (Lung-hsi; Lin-t'ao): Later Han, Three Kingdoms
 WANG (Lang-ya, Lin-i): Chin, Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en, T'o-pa Wei⁴⁸

⁴⁵ The connection between family members is broken between the Chin and the Southern Ch'i. There are clan members mentioned in the *Sung shu*, but their family ties cannot be established.

⁴⁶ The connection between family members is broken between the Chin and the Liu Sung.

⁴⁷ The connection between family members is broken between the Southern Ch'i and Liang.

⁴⁸ One woman Wang from Lang-ya was an imperial concubine during the Three Kingdoms period, but her relationship with the later Wangs cannot be established.

WANG (Pei-hai; Chü): T'o-pa Wei, Northern Ch'i
 WANG (P'ei-kuo; Hsiang): Southern Ch'i, Liang
 WANG (Shan-yang; Kao-p'ing): Later Han, Three Kingdoms, Chin
 WANG (T'ai-yüan; Chin-yang): Later Han, Three Kingdoms, Chin
 WANG (T'ai-yüan; Ch'i): Later Han, Three Kingdoms; Liu Sung, Liang⁴⁹
 WANG (Tung-hai; T'an): Three Kingdoms, Chin, Liang⁵⁰
 WEI (Ching-chao; Tu-ling): Liang, Ch'en, T'o-pa Wei, Northern Ch'i
 WEN (T'ai-yüan; Ch'i); Three Kingdoms, Chin
 YANG (Hung-nung; Hua-yin): Later Han, Chin, T'o-pa Wei,⁵¹ N. Ch'i, N. Chou
 YANG (T'ai-shan; Nan-ch'eng/P'ing-yang/Chü-p'ing); Later Han, Chin, Liang,
 T'o-pa Wei, Northern Ch'i⁵²
 YAO (Shang-tang; Ch'ang-tzu): T'o-pa Wei, Northern Ch'i
 YEN (Lang-ya; Chiang-tu/Lin-i): Chin, Liu Sung, Northern Ch'i, Northern Chou
 YIN (Ch'en-chün; Ch'ang-p'ing): Chin, Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang
 YIN (Wu-wei; Ku-tsang): Liang, Ch'en
 YING (Ju-nan; Nan-tun): Later Han, Three Kingdoms, Chin
 YÜ (Hsin-yeh/Nan-yang; Hsin-yeh): Liang, Northern Chou
 YÜ (K'uai-chi, Yü-yao): Three Kingdoms, Chin, Southern Ch'i
 YÜ (Ying-ch'uan; Yen-ling): L. Han, Three Kingdoms, Chin, L. Sung, Liang,⁵³ Ch'en
 YÜAN (Ch'en-chün; Yang-hsia/Fu-lo): Three Kingdoms, Chin; Liu Sung, Southern
 Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en, T'o-pa Wei,⁵⁴ Northern Ch'i
 YÜAN (Ju-nan; Ju-yang): Later Han, Three Kingdoms
 YÜAN (Lüeh-yang, Huan-tao): Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i

⁴⁹ There is a gap in the clan's genealogy between the Three Kingdoms period and the Liu Sung. Although no clan members are mentioned for the Southern Ch'i period, the clan members known during the Liang dynasty were direct descendants of the ones known during the Liu Sung.

⁵⁰ Some Tung-hai Wangs were mentioned in the *Nan Ch'i shu*, but they are not directly related.

⁵¹ The connection between family members is broken between the Chin and the T'o-pa Wei. There are clan members mentioned in the dynastic histories for both periods, but their family ties cannot be established.

⁵² A *Liang shu* biography of a T'ai-shan Yang also mentions a Yang who was an official under the Liu Sung.

⁵³ The connection between family members is broken between the Liu Sung and the Liang. There are clan members mentioned in the *Nan-ch'i shu*, but their family ties cannot be established.

⁵⁴ The connection between family members is broken between the Chin and the T'o-pa Wei. There are clan members mentioned in the dynastic histories for both periods, but their family ties cannot be established.

The chart below shows the changing presence of the great early medieval clans on the national political scene:

Legend:	Southern Dynasties:	****
	Northern Dynasties:	>>>>
	Before the North/South Division:	xxxx

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III. Official Ranks

Of all measures of social status throughout the history of imperial China, official rank is the most discussed. This is not surprising considering the bureaucratic nature of the empire, which was practically run by officials.¹ For over two millennia, since the establishment of the bureaucratic Ch'in state by the first unifier of China, office-holders were a privileged segment of the society — their official rank clearly indicative of the degree of privilege. While this was also true of the early medieval period, the bureaucracy developed some unique features, which reflected the political and social reality of the time.²

The various regimes of the early medieval period followed in the footsteps of the Han, adopting the Han governmental structure, then adapting it to the realities of a diffused, often militaristic power structure, to give it new, distinctive characteristics. This was particularly true in the North, where the Sixteen Kingdoms and the Northern Dynasties went through several stages of institutional transformation before they fitted their original tribal organizations into the structures of the Han tradition. New administrative structures emerged and official titles proliferated, as we will see later in this chapter. The rulers of the last of the Northern Dynasties, the Northern Chou, sought to recognize the reality of a realm completely divided and *de facto* ruled by Regional Military Governors by reviving titles of the ancient Chou Kingdom.

All offices were ranked according to a new ranking system, which replaced the old Han classification of officials in terms of bushels of grain.³ In an attempt to centralize political power and restore bureaucratic efficiency after the collapse of Han governmental structure, Ts'ao Ts'ao, the founder of the San-kuo Wei Kingdom, classified all officials into nine ranks (*chiu p'in*), and adopted a new system of promotion for civil servants based on recommendations by a just and impartial Arbiter (*chung-cheng*).⁴ The ranking was modified by some of the later early medieval dynasties which introduced grades (*ming*) and sub-ranks (*ts'ung-p'in*), with the effect

¹ The term *shih* can be variously translated as scholar, gentleman, officer, soldier, knight, a man of learning, etc. In his extensive attempt to define the word *shih* — indeed, this is one of the major aims of his study — Johnson opted to leave it untranslated. David Johnson, *The Medieval Chinese oligarchy: A Study of the Great Families in Their Social, Political and Institutional Settings*, University of California, Berkeley, Ph.D. thesis, pp. 1-18.

² Dennis Grafflin brings into question the established notion of "bureaucracy" when applied to China in the early medieval period. See his "Reinventing China: Pseudobureaucracy in the Early Southern Dynasties," in *State and Society in Early Medieval China*, Albert E. Dien, ed. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990, pp. 139-169.

³ Originally indicative of an official's salary in kind, the ranks expressed in bushels gradually became only a relative measure of rank, determining the salary that was partly paid in coins, partly in grain.

⁴ I am using the English term Arbiter for *chung-cheng* in Chinese, following the practice of Patricia Buckley Ebrey in *The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China: A Case Study of Po-ling Ts'ui family*, rather than the term Rectifier, as used by Charles O. Hucker in *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Dennis Grafflin uses Impartial Judge in "Reinventing China."

of multiplying the number of ranks, but even these new gradations can be translated into the basic nine-rank system.⁵

The "nine-rank system of just arbitration" (*chiu-p'in chung-cheng*), was introduced by Ts'ao Ts'ao in A.D. 220 as a new way to recruit officials for the central and local administration.⁶ It classified all candidates for office into nine ranks of character and ability. The idea behind the system was to bring to the attention of the central government worthy and talented individuals who lived far from the capital.⁷ Han had already developed a system of local recommendation to serve the same purpose, using the office of the Grand Administrator — almost never appointed to his home commandery — to make the recommendation.⁸ San-kuo Wei appointed members of the local educated class to the office of Arbiter to make such decisions. This development reflects the collapse of central authority and its dependence on local powers, in a reversion to the diffused power structure of the earlier feudal period. Under those circumstances it was assumed that an official could judge the abilities and character of candidates better if he knew them personally. But as a result, the system was taken over by the regional elite who turned it to its advantage.⁹

Under this system, the level on which a candidate entered into state service was determined by the Arbiter's classification. Offices in the regular bureaucracy were also classified into nine separate ranks. Only individuals awarded Rank 2 or above by the local Arbiter, commonly referred to as the *erh-p'in-chih*, could obtain a post in the central bureaucracy. Generally, a person who was classified as Rank 1 by the Arbiter could expect to start his official career in an official post of Rank 5 or above.¹⁰ This may sound confusing, as there were two separate sets of ranks. First, every qualified individual received a rank from the Arbiter — we will call it the "Arbiter's Rank" for clarity — which simply gave the green light for entry into

⁵ For the tables showing ranks for each dynasty see Dusanka D. Miscevic, *Oligarchy or Social Mobility: A Study of the Great Clans in Early Medieval China*, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1992, Chapter 3. It is available on microfilm, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1992.

⁶ The system was standardized by Ch'en Ch'ün. The primary sources are confused on the origins of the Nine Rank law. For details see Miyakawa Hisayuki, *Rikuchoshi kenkyu: seiji shakai hen*, Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1964, pp. 263-265.

⁷ For the problems facing Ts'ao Ts'ao as he slowly built a parallel government to supplant the Han see Graflin, "Reinventing China," p. 147.

⁸ For details see Hans Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy of Han Times*, p. 133 ff. Some authors suggest that the San-kuo system should be regarded as a formalization of unknown Han antecedents at the local level, most notably Hou Wai-lu, ed. *Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang t'ung-shi*, Peking, 1957, III, pp. 45-46. Also see Donald Holzman, "Les Débuts du système médiéval de choix et de classement des fonctionnaires: Les Neuf Catégories et l'Impartial et Juste," *Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Études chinoises* 1 (1957), p. 388; Rafe de Crespigny, "The Recruitment System of the Imperial Bureaucracy of Later Han," *The Chung Chi Journal* 6, No. 1 (1966), p. 77; Okazaki Fumio, *Gi Shin Nanbokucho tsushi*, Tokyo: Hirobumi doshobo, 1932, p. 488.

⁹ Johnson gives a good survey of this topic in *The Medieval Chinese Oligarchy*, chapter IV. For more detail read Miyazaki, *Kyuhin kanjin*; p. 12; Yang Yün-ju, *Chiu-p'in chung-cheng yü liu ch'ao men-fa*; or Miyakawa, *op.cit.* pp. 263-338.

¹⁰ The transition from posts below Rank 5 to those above it was difficult. Rank 5 is considered by many as the break-off point between the national and local elites. See Mao Han-kuang *Liang-Chin nan-pei ch'ao shih-tsu cheng-chih chih yen-chiu*, Vol. 1, pp. 67-96.

officialdom. Then, every office actually awarded by the government carried a rank according to a different system — the “Official Rank.”

The correlation between the Arbiter’s classification and the first official post received in the regular bureaucracy is shown in the following table:¹¹

Arbiter’s Rank	1			2			3			4			5	
Official Post	3	4	5	5	6	7	6	7	8	7	8	9	8	9

The system of local arbitration remained in use throughout the early medieval period. The T’ang dynasty finally put an end to this practice by introducing state examinations. The T’ang, recognizing the importance of official appointments in determining social status, established the system of evaluating and picking state officials through state examinations in order to promote people of its own choice. The opening paragraph of the *Treatise on Bureaucracy* in *Hsin T’ang-shu* states: “To distinguish between noble and base, and to classify the merits and abilities, there are ranks (*p’in*), noble titles (*chüeh*), honorific titles (*hsün*), and degrees (*chieh*).¹² They are raised and lowered through periodic examinations. Thus all talent is put to office, and all affairs put in order.”¹³

But for several centuries prior to the establishment of the examination system by the T’ang, the court appointed all officials based on local evaluations by the various local offices of the Arbiter. The office of the Arbiter itself did not carry high rank, but if we assume that Arbiters had almost complete control over social status, we must expect that the elite tried to secure it for its own members. I have compiled lists of all individuals who held the office of Arbiter throughout the early medieval period, as documented in the dynastic sources. They can be found in this chapter under separate headings for each dynasty. The names are arranged in tables, which also show the highest official rank each individual held in addition to the post of the Arbiter.¹⁴ To illustrate each individual’s background, the highest rank held by his father is also included. When the father held no rank, paternal uncles’ posts are indicated in parenthesis.¹⁵

¹¹ For correlation between the rank awarded a person by the local Arbiter and the post he received in the regular bureaucracy see Miyazaki Ichisada, *Kyuhin kanjin hō no kenkyū*, p. 105, and Mao Han-kuang, *Liang-Chin Nan-pei-ch’ao shih-tsu cheng-chih chih yen-chiu*, Vol. I, pp. 81-86.

¹² I use the term “degree” instead of “class” to avoid confusion that could arise from talking about “class distinctions” in the context of “distinctions between noble and base.” A “degree” (*chieh*) is a subdivision of the “rank” (*p’in*).

¹³ *HTS, chüan 46, chih 36*, p. 1181.

¹⁴ Throughout this study only posts above rank 5 were considered. By a “low post” I mean a post below rank 5.

¹⁵ When sources show no record of office held, it may be due to premature death. Early death of a member of an office-holding clan threatened his direct descendents with the loss of social status based on office-holding. Usually, paternal uncles took charge of orphaned nephews and nieces, ensuring continued status of their kin through education, official appointments and proper marriages. Paternal uncles’ posts are therefore also indicative of a clan’s status.

The analysis of the backgrounds of people who held the offices of Arbiter¹⁶ will show the degree to which the already established bureaucratic clans controlled this office. By extension, it will show the extent to which the already established bureaucratic clans were in a position to control all official appointments.

In addition, this chapter will look at all individuals who held offices with Rank 1 throughout the early medieval period, in order to determine which clans had control of the highest titles in the state bureaucracy, and by extension, of state affairs and the political life of the time.

The highest titles of the central bureaucracy, inherited from the Chou, Ch'in and Han, were continued by Ts'ao Ts'ao and the other rulers of the early medieval period, and were now given Rank 1. Although they were still referred to as the Three Dukes (*san kung*), this collective designation was expanded to include many more titles than the classical triumvirate of a Councillor-in-chief (*ch'eng-hsiang*), a Defender-in-chief (*t'ai-wei*), and either a Censor-in-chief (*yü-shih ta-fu*) or a Minister of Works (*ssu-k'ung*).¹⁷ During the early medieval period old Chou titles like Grand Preceptor (*t'ai-shih*), Grand Mentor (*t'ai-fu*), and Grand Guardian (*t'ai-pao*) were also included among the Three Dukes, as well as Minister of Education (*ssu-t'u*), Commander-in-chief (*ta ssu-ma*), and General-in-chief (*ta Chiang-chün*). At times many of these titles were used at the same time, prompting the T'o-pa Wei government to begin referring to them as the Eight Dukes (*pa kung*). The Northern Chou introduced an entirely new title, Pillar of State (*chu kuo*), which more or less displaced all the other titles with Rank 1. This proliferation of official titles with the highest rank has prompted modern historians to think of them as largely honorific posts, which seldom involved any assigned duties.

Just as the official titles of the central bureaucracy proliferated under the early medieval dynasties, so did territorial administrative units. The Later Han administrative division into Regions (*chou*), Commanderies (*chün*), and Districts (*hsien*) continued throughout the early medieval period, but the number of administrative units increased steadily. The Later Han empire had been divided into only thirteen regions. The Chin empire had twenty at the time it controlled most of China Proper. But the Liang dynasty eventually had a total of one-hundred and seventy regions in the South, while the Northern Chou claimed two-hundred and eleven in the North.

These territorial units were still governed by a nomenclature inherited from the Han, headed by Regional Inspectors (*tz'u-shih*) and Governors (*t'ai-shou*),¹⁸ but the regional governors were more often military men. The most powerful of them

¹⁶ Arbiters were themselves often classified into grades as Senior Arbiters (*ta chung-cheng*) and Junior Arbiters (*hsiao chung-cheng*), and sometimes at the regional level were called Regional Arbiters (*chou-tu*). This study ignores such differences, as they did not affect the duties of the office.

¹⁷ I use the English terms provided in Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Bielenstein calls the Three Dukes Three Excellencies in *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*.

¹⁸ The older Han title of Regional Governors (*chou-mu*) was largely replaced by this time.

dominated clusters of neighboring regions, assuming the new titles of Area Commander (*tu ... chün-shih*)¹⁹ or Area Commander-in-chief (*tu-tu, tsung-kuan*). To begin with, the heads of territorial administration had relatively low ranks — Regional Inspectors were Rank 4 at best, and Governors were Rank 5. As they assumed more territorial power, Area Commanders attained Rank 2, which gradually rose to Rank 1 by the end of the early medieval period.²⁰ By the Northern Chou, all the power rested in these new offices which combined civilian and military power. They were, moreover, automatically awarded to the holders of the highest military titles. Of these, the Commander Unequaled in Honor (*k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu*) deserves special attention.

The title of Commander Unequaled in Honor first emerged under the T'o-pa Wei in the North, divided into a military component (*k'ai-fu*) and a civilian component (*i-t'ung san-ssu*), both carrying Rank 1b. In the South, the Southern Ch'i dynasty was the first to use it, also with Rank 1b.²¹ The Liang used the title of Commander Unequaled in Honor attached to the military titles of Generals (*chu Chiang-chün k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu*), or the civilian titles of Grand Masters for Splendid Happiness (*tso-yu kuang-lu k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu*). In both cases it carried the equivalent of Rank 1b.²² For the remainder of the early medieval period, the title combined military and civilian duties in both the South and the North, gradually becoming virtually the most important and most commonly awarded title with Rank 1 under the Northern Chou.

Civilian and military offices with Rank 1 included, depending on the dynasty, Generals-in-chief, Area Commanders and Commanders Unequaled in Honor, in addition to or even instead of the traditional positions of the Three Dukes. Regardless of what these offices were called, and whether their power-base was central or local, they carried Rank 1 — a sure sign of the recognition of merit or prestige of the highest order. Only individuals who performed extraordinary deeds on behalf of the dynasty, or who wielded so much independent power that the dynasty could not ignore them, received such high honors.

If we look at the backgrounds of the individuals who held these official titles of the highest honor under various dynasties, and collate the number of such titles held by the various clans, we will be able to discern the relative position of each clan under each dynasty and arrive at a clear picture of the individuals and clans who were in position to control the political life of their time. It will not, however, show the extent to which certain clans monopolized the whole of the central and

¹⁹ The place names were inserted within the title.

²⁰ Changes in the ranking of various offices, dynasty by dynasty, can be found in the tables of offices provided in Chapter 3, Miscevic, *Oligarchy or social Mobility*, thesis.

²¹ The listing of the title is with the *ts'ung-kung* titles, but the text later says that the title was equivalent to that of *kung*, which implies a Full Duke, with Rank 1a. The latter comment is probably a mistake, or involves an omission of the character for *ts'ung*.

²² Equivalent, because the Liang actually divided the official posts into eighteen civilian and twenty-four military grades (*pan*). For more details see the section on Liang, later in this chapter.

local bureaucracy.²³ In this chapter, under separate headings for each dynasty, I identify office-holders with Rank 1 by name and choronym, and show the highest offices held by their fathers and grandfathers.²⁴ In separate tables I indicate the cases where office-holders with Rank 1 also held the office of Arbiter.

Although the various regimes of the early medieval period preserved the façade of the Han governmental structure, it is clear that many changes occurred within the system. Over time, there were considerable variations in the classification and ranking of administrative posts. The study of these variations is complicated by the fact that several dynastic histories of the period do not carry Treatises, the customary section of Chinese historical writing called the *chih*, where one usually finds information on the bureaucracy.²⁵ In addition, the Treatises on Bureaucracy that one does find in the *Chin shu*, the *Sung shu*, the *Nan Ch'i shu*, and the *Wei shu* do not cover the topic of official rank in a consistent manner, and many of them do not discuss the rank (*p'in*) at all. The Treatise on Bureaucracy in the *Sui shu*, compiled under the T'ang, aims to supplement the missing information by discussing the bureaucracies of the Liang, Ch'en, Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i and Western Wei/Northern Chou, from which we learn that the Liang, followed by the Ch'en, divided all offices into 18 grades (*pan*), while the Northern Chou called the grades *ming*. All these grades can be converted into nine ranks, to make possible a comparative study of office-holding for the whole period.²⁶

²³ In my research I have identified the highest office held by each individual mentioned in each dynastic history of the early medieval period. Mao Han-kuang has done something similar in *Liang Chin nan-pei ch'ao*, with the second volume comprised entirely of tables showing all holders and all offices above Rank 5 mentioned by the dynastic histories. These tables are very useful, but contain several mistakes and occasional omissions. In addition, Mao has lumped the noble titles together with the official titles, without clearly specifying this or explaining why. An individual who received a noble title of Duke will therefore be listed by Mao as a holder of office with Rank 1, although the highest position in the bureaucracy he held may have been only Rank 2, or Rank 3. Moreover, the noble titles were hereditary, but Mao for some reason did not consider the noble ranking as official ranking for those who inherited a title. This naturally creates some discrepancies between his tables and mine. He also failed to incorporate offices held under the Chin when considering the Northern Dynasties, and to include offices held by different branches of the same clan under the rulers in the North and the South. Also, he did not tabulate the titles awarded during the Three Kingdoms period. This, of course, is not a mistake, but I have included those, too, since the processes of division and decentralization, as well as the new classification of the bureaucracy had already started then. Unfortunately, limitations of space prevent me from listing and analyzing all those offices here. More extensive information can be found in Dusanka D. Miscevic, *Oligarchy or Social Mobility: A Study of the Great Clans in Early Medieval China*, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1992, which is available on microfilm, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International. Its Appendix contains tables of all the offices above Rank 5 and noble titles for clans that survived as office-holders for more than one dynasty, and their genealogies. The tables show how many individuals from each prominent clan held office in the central bureaucracy, and identify the highest rank held by each of them, dynasty by dynasty.

²⁴ As before, three generations are considered to be the breakpoint in maintaining a clan's social status. If no one procured an office in this time span, the clan would have lost its status of "office-holders," i.e. the *shih*. Conversely, if neither his father (or uncle) nor grandfather held an office, an individual was a newcomer to the privileged class.

²⁵ A Treatise of Bureaucracy usually bears the name of *Po kuan* or *Shih kuan*. The whole *chih* section has been omitted from the *San-kuo chih*, the *Liang shu*, the *Ch'en shu*, the *Pei-Ch'i shu* and the *Chou shu*.

²⁶ The most comprehensive source for this task is the *T'ung-tien*. In the chapters entitled *Shih-kuan* (*chüan* 19-40), precise grading for all offices is listed. Mao Han-kuang relied on this source when compiling his tables in *Liang-Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao shih-tsu cheng-chih chih yen-chiu*, vol. 2. I have found some inconsistencies in his tabulations, and have therefore made my own. They can be found in Dusanka D. Miscevic, *Oligarchy or Social Mobility: A Study of the Great Clans in Early Medieval China*, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1992, Chapter 3: Official Ranks, pp. 68-237. My tables in this chapter, under headings for each dynasty, show the ranking accorded each office under these various systems, and give its equivalent as expressed through the nine ranks, with Rank 1 the highest, and Rank 9 the lowest.

THE THREE KINGDOMS

As remarked above, the San-kuo Wei Kingdom of the Three Kingdoms period was the first to classify government offices into nine ranks. During the Han, the "weight" of an office was expressed in "bushels" — originally denoting the amount of grain, i.e. salary in kind, due its holder. But bushels gradually became only a relative measure of rank, determining the salary that was paid partly in coins, partly in grain.²⁷ After the collapse of the Later Han administration, Ts'ao Ts'ao, the founder of the San-kuo Wei, introduced the new system for the classification of all government officials in an attempt to create an efficient, centralized bureaucracy. His classification, expressed in ranks (*p'in*), nevertheless corresponded closely to that of the Han. The states of Wu and Shu of the Three Kingdoms period kept the Han system of classification.²⁸

The following table lists the offices with Rank 1 awarded by the San-kuo Wei:

Office	In Chinese	Rank
The Three Dukes	<i>san kung</i>	1
General-in-chief, Bearer of the Yellow Halberd	<i>huang-yüeh ta Chiang-chün</i>	1
Grand Chancellor-in-chief	<i>ta ch'eng-hsiang</i>	1

Arbiters

Although it was the San-kuo Kingdom of Wei that introduced "the nine-rank system of just arbitration" in A.D. 220, the *San-kuo chih* mentions no one who held the post in the Kingdom of Wei. Neither does it mention any Arbiter appointments for the Kingdom of Wu. Only two appointees to the office of the Arbiter in the Kingdom of Shu are mentioned in the history, and those are Ch'iao Chou from Pa-hsi and Li Mi from Ch'ien-wei. Their backgrounds and status can be seen in the following table:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Choronym</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Father's rank</u>	<u>Source</u>
Ch'iao Chou	Pa-hsi	3	?	SKC 42/1027
Li Mi	Ch'ien-wei	5	?	SKC 45/1076

The table indicates that both Arbiters came from obscure backgrounds and did not hold high office.²⁹ But because only two offices are known for the whole Three Kingdoms period, a valid statistical analysis of this data is not possible. We will now turn our attention to offices of the highest rank.

²⁷ See Hans Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, p. 4 and p. 125.

²⁸ In analyzing offices awarded by the Kingdoms of Shu and Wu later in this section, I have simply translated "bushels" into "ranks."

²⁹ Neither can be found among the prominent clans, as established by the chapter on genealogies.

Offices with Rank 1

The *San-kuo chih* records the award of thirty-two civilian posts and twenty-five military posts with Rank 1 during the Three Kingdoms period. Below are lists of all the individuals who held an office with Rank 1. Civilian and military offices are listed separately, indicating the choronym for each individual, and the highest official rank held by his father and grandfather.

Civilian posts with Rank 1

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Chao Yen	Ying-ch'uan	—	—	SKC 23/668
Ch'en Chiao	Kuang-ling	—	—	SKC 22/642
Ch'en Ch'ün	Ying-ch'uan	3	low	SKC 22/633
Chu-ko K'o ³⁰	Lang-ya	2	—	SKC 64/1429
Chu-ko Liang ³¹	Lang-ya	low	—	SKC 35/911
Chu-ko Tan ³²	Lang-ya	(uncle 2)	—	SKC 28/769
Chung Hui	Ying-ch'uan	1	—	SKC 28/784
Chung Yao	Ying-ch'uan	—	—	SKC 13/391
Han Chi	Nan-yang	5	5	SKC 24/677
Ho K'uei	Ch'en-chün ³³	—	—	SKC 12/378
Ho Tseng	Ch'en-chün	1	—	SKC 12/381
Hsing Yung	Ho-chien	—	—	SKC 12/382
Hsü Ching	Ju-nan	—	—	SKC 38/963
Hua Hsin	P'ing-yüan	—	—	SKC 13/401
Kao Jou	Ch'en-liu	5	low	SKC 24/682
Ku Yung	Wu-chün	—	—	SKC 52/1225
Liu Fang	Cho-chün	—	—	SKC 14/456
Lu Yü	Cho-chün ³⁴	3	—	SKC 22/650
Lu K'ai	Wu-chün	— ³⁵	—	SKC 61/1399
Pu Chih	Lin-huai	—	—	SKC 52/1236
P'u-yang Hsing	Ch'en-liu	5	—	SKC 64/1451

³⁰ The surname of K'o's clan was originally Ko. They were from Lang-ya, Chu. When they moved to Yang-tu they became known as the Chu-ko clan ("the Kos from Chu"), to be distinguished from a local Ko clan. SKC 52/1231.

³¹ Liang was K'o's uncle. Ibid.

³² Tan belonged to the same clan. Ibid.

³³ "Chün" means "commandery." Chinese practice was to add "chün" to the names of all commanderies that consisted of only one character. In Chapter 2, the commanderies whose name consisted of one character were listed by that character only. In later chapters, where the commandery is used in the sense of a choronym, I add "chün" as well: Ch'en-chün, Cho-chün, Wu-chün, for instance. The clans were known as the Ch'en-chün Hos and the Wu-chün Lus, not as the Cho Hos and the Wu Lus.

³⁴ At other times the Cho commandery was classified as Fan-yang.

³⁵ Lu K'ai's paternal third uncle Sun held an office with Rank 1.

Sun Li	Cho-chün	—	—	SKC 24/691
Sun Tzu	T'ai-yüan	—	—	SKC 14/457
Sun Chün	Wu-chün	5	—	SKC 64/1444
Ts'ui Lin	Ch'ing-ho	—	—	SKC 24/679
Tung Chao	Chi-yin	—	—	SKC 14/436
Tung Cho	Lung-hsi	—	—	SKC 6/171
Wang Ch'ang	T'ai-yüan	5	—	SKC 27/743
Wang Ling	T'ai-yüan	(uncle 1) ³⁶	—	SKC 28/757
Wang Kuan	Tung-chün	—	—	SKC 24/693
Wang Lang	Tung-hai	—	—	SKC 13/406
Wei Chen	Ch'en-liu	—	—	SKC 22/647

Military posts with Rank 1

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Chang Yang	Yün-chung	—	—	SKC 8/250
Chen Hsiang	Chung-shan	low	—	SKC 5/162
Ch'en Chun ³⁷	Ying-ch'uan	—	low	SKC 22/642
Chia Hsü	Wu-wei	—	—	SKC 10/326
Chiang Chi	Ch'u-kuo	—	—	SKC 14/450
Chiang Wan	Ling-ling	—	—	SKC 44/1057
Chu Chi ³⁸	Tan-yang	2	3	SKC 56/1308
Chu-ko Tan	Lang-ya	(uncle 2)	—	SKC 28/769
Chung Yao	Ying-ch'uan	—	—	SKC 13/391
Fei I	Chiang-hsia	—	—	SKC 44/1060
Hua Hsin	P'ing-yüan	—	—	SKC 13/401
Huang Ch'üan	Pa-hsi	—	—	SKC 43/1043
Kao Jou	Ch'en-liu	5	low	SKC 24/682
Kung-sun Yüan	Liao-tung	3	4	SKC 8/253
Kuo Huai	T'ai-yüan	5	3	SKC 26/733
Lu Tai	Kuang-ling	—	—	SKC 60/1383
Lu K'ang	Wu-chün	1	5	SKC 58/1354
Lu Sun	Wu-chün	5	4	SKC 58/1343
Lü Fan	Ju-nan	—	—	SKC 56/1309
Man Ch'ung	Shan-yang	—	—	SKC 26/721
Teng Ai	I-yang	—	—	SKC 28/775

³⁶ Wang Ling's father and grandfather are not mentioned in his biography, but it is stated that his uncle Yün, his father's younger brother, held the office of Minister of Education under the Han. SKC 28/757.

³⁷ Ch'en Chun and his title are mentioned in Note #2 in SKC 22/642.

³⁸ Chu Chi's father Jan was adopted by Chu Chih, his maternal uncle, who at first had no sons of his own. Chi spent most of his official career with the adopted surname Chu, but he later had it changed back to his father's original surname, Shih, by imperial decree. SKC 56/1305 and SKC 56/1309.

Wang Ch'ang	T'ai-yüan	5	—	SKC 27/743
Wang Ling	T'ai-yüan	(uncle 1) ³⁹	—	SKC 28/757
Wei Chen	Ch'en-liu	—	—	SKC 22/647
Yüan Shao	Ju-nan	1	1	SKC 6/188

Only seven individuals during the Three Kingdoms period held both civilian and military titles with Rank 1. Holding multiple titles of the highest prestige at this time was obviously more an exception than the rule.

Nine of the thirty-two individuals who held civilian posts with Rank 1 (or just over 28%) belonged to clans who held more than one such post. There were four such clans: the Chu-ko clan from Lang-ya (with three appointments); the Chung clan from Ying-ch'uan, the Ho clan from Ch'en-chün, and the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan (each with two appointments).

Four of the twenty-five individuals who held military posts with Rank 1 (or exactly 16%) belonged to clans who held more than one such post — two clans in all. These were the Lu clan from Wu-chün and the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan, each of whom held two posts. The two Wangs, Wang Ch'ang and Wang Ling, held both military and civilian titles with Rank 1.

If any clans came close to temporarily monopolizing political power during this time, it was the T'ai-yüan Wangs, with two clan members holding both civilian and military offices with Rank 1; the Chu-ko clan from Lang-ya, with three clan members holding civilian offices with Rank 1, and one of the three, Chu-ko Tan, holding a military office with Rank 1 as well; the Lu clan from Wu-chün, with three clan members holding the highest offices — two military, and one civilian; and the Chung clan from Ying-ch'uan, with two clan members holding two civilian and one military office with Rank 1 between them.

Except for the Chu-ko clan from Lang-ya, all of the other clans who held several offices with Rank 1 were already well established bureaucratic clans since Later Han times. The Chu-kos became famous at this time. One of the clan members, Chu-ko Liang, was the chief political adviser and military strategist of the ruler of the Shu Kingdom, Liu Pei. Both the clan and the Kingdom were at the peak of power during the lifetime of Chu-ko Liang. The Kingdom's power declined after Chu-ko Liang's death, but the clan managed to remain influential under the succeeding Chin dynasty.

In addition to the Ying-ch'uan Chungs, Ch'en-chün Hos, Wu-chün Lus and T'ai-yüan Wangs, five other old bureaucratic clans produced office-holders with Rank 1: the Ch'en clan from Ying-ch'uan (with one civilian and one military post); the Hsü clan from Ju-nan, the Lu clan from Cho-chün,⁴⁰ the Tung clan from Lung-hsi, and the Yüan clan from Ju-nan (each with one civilian post).

³⁹ Wang Ling's father and grandfather are not mentioned in his biography, but it is stated that his uncle Yün, his father's younger brother, held the office of Minister of Education under the Han. SKC 28/757.

⁴⁰ Cho-chün was classified as the Fan-yang commandery at other times, so this clan was in fact generally known as the Fan-yang Lus.

In all, eleven of the thirty-two individuals who held civilian offices with Rank 1 (or a little over 34%) belonged to bureaucratic clans that were already established prior to this time. The number is slightly lower for the military office-holders. Seven of the twenty-five individuals who held military offices with Rank 1 (or exactly 28%) belonged to the old Later Han elite.

Below are two charts that illustrate the origins of the clans of all individuals who held offices with Rank 1 during the Three Kingdoms period:

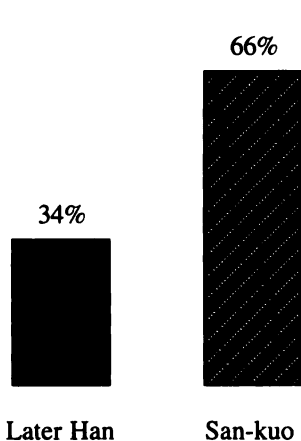


Chart 1a: Origins of clans of civ. office-holders, Rank 1

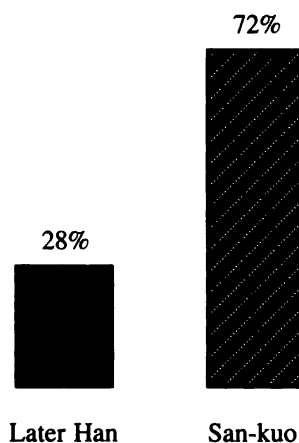


Chart 1b: Origins of clans of mil. office-holders, Rank 1

To conclude, we cannot know whether the number of Arbiters recorded in the *San-kuo chih* reflects the number actually appointed, but in all likelihood the number of appointments was higher. The recorded number may be low because the post itself did not carry enough importance, and was not used for the purpose of promoting clans that would otherwise not have come to the attention of the historian. The Arbiters, then, were probably not effective in securing power and prestige for the clans of their choice. The backgrounds of people who held the highest posts also seem to confirm this conclusion. The society of the Three Kingdoms period was dominated, to a large degree, by a new group of people.

CHIN

By and large, the Chin dynasty took over the bureaucratic structure of the San-kuo Wei, in some cases modifying the names of offices, or altering their rank. The Chin abolished the office of Chancellor (*ch'eng-hsiang*, or alternatively *hsiang-kuo*), an old office established by the Ch'in and ranked as one of the Three Dukes (*san kung*). Instead, titles of the Three Dukes of the ancient Chou period were used, at least until the loss of the North and the subsequent move of the court to the South. Those were: Grand Steward (*t'ai-tsai*), Grand Mentor (*t'ai-fu*), and Grand Guar-

dian(*t'ai-pao*). These offices were later known as the Three Preceptors (*san shih*),⁴¹ but at this time they gradually acquired the name of Superior Dukes (*shang-kung*). It is the offices of Defender-in-chief (*t'ai-wei*), Minister of Education (*ssu-t'u*), and Minister of Works (*ssu-k'ung*) that became known as the Three Dukes at this time. All these offices, when awarded, held Rank 1.

The following table lists the offices with Rank 1 awarded by the Chin:

Office	In Chinese	Rank
Grand Steward	<i>t'ai-tsai</i>	1
Grand Mentor	<i>t'ai-fu</i>	1
Grand Guardian	<i>t'ai-pao</i>	1
Defender-in-chief	<i>t'ai-wei</i>	1
Minister of Education	<i>ssu-t'u</i>	1
Minister of Works	<i>ssu-k'ung</i>	1

Arbiters

The *Chin shu* and the *Sung shu* record the award of thirty-eight Arbiter posts during the Chin period. In fact, thirty-nine appointments are mentioned for the Chin period, but T'an Tao-chi from Kao-p'ing received his from the Liu Sung Emperor Kao-tsu, who was already the ruler of the Kingdom of Sung before he received the abdication of the Chin court. We will therefore treat Tao-chi's appointment as a Liu Sung appointment.

Below is a list of the thirty-eight individuals whose Arbiter appointments were recorded under Chin rulers — their choronyms, highest official ranks, and the highest ranks held by their fathers.⁴²

<u>Name</u>	<u>Choronym</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Father's Rank</u>	<u>Source</u>
Chang Fu	Nan-yang	4	—	CS 60/1639
Chang K'ai	Tan-yang	3	—	CS 76/2018
Ch'en Shou	Pa-hsi	5	—	CS 82/2137
Chiang Yu	Ch'en-liu	3	low military	CS 83/2171
Chu-ko Hui	Lang-ya	3	1	CS 77/2041
Ch'u Hsiu-chih	Ho-nan	3	3	SS 52/1502
Fan Wang	Shun-yang	2	(uncle 5)	CS 75/1982

⁴¹ The term Three Preceptors *san-shih* was used only by the Sui and later, at times when the office of Grand Preceptor (*t'ai-shih*) replaced that of Grand Steward (*t'ai-tsai*) in the triumvirate.

⁴² Again, parentheses indicate official ranks of paternal uncles.

Fu Hsien	Pei-ti	3	3	CS 47/1323
Fu T'ao	P'ing-ch'ang	5	—	CS 92/2399
Ho Ch'eng	Lu-chiang	3	(uncle 5)	CS 93/2418
Ho Ch'ung	Lu-chiang	2	5	CS 77/2028
Ho P'an	Shu-chün	3	—	CS 45/1290
Hsü Kuang	Tung-kuan	3	4	CS 82/2158
Hsü Miao	Tung-kuan	4	4	CS 91/2356
Hua Heng	P'ing-yüan	2	1	CS 44/1262
Hua T'an	Kuang-ling	3	4	CS 52/1448
Hu-mu Fu-chih	T'ai-shan	4	5	CS 49/1379
Ku Chung	Wu-chün	3	4	CS 76/2015
Liu Sung ⁴³	Kuang-ling	3	5	CS 88/2276
Liu I	Tung-lai	3	low	CS 45/1271
Liu Shen	Yen-kuo	5	—	CS 89/2306
Lu Na	Wu-chün	3	1	CS 77/2026
Lu Wan	Wu-chün	1	3	CS 77/2024
Lu Yeh	Wu-chün	1	3	CS 77/2023
Sheng Yen	Kuang-ling	5	—	CS 88/2276
T'ao K'an	P'o-yang ⁴⁴	1	4	CS 66/1768
Tiao Hsieh	Po-hai	3	3	CS 69/1842
Ting T'an	K'uai-chi	3	5	CS 78/2062
Tu Liang	Shu-chün	5	low	CS 90/2332
Wang Huai-chih	Lang-ya	3	4	SS 60/1623
Wang Chiao	T'ai-yüan	3	5	CS 75/1974
Wang Shu	T'ai-yüan	3	5	CS 75/1961
Wang T'an-chih	T'ai-yüan	3	3	CS 75/1964
Wang Yün	T'ai-yüan	3	5	CS 93/2420
Wei Shu	Jen-ch'en	1	—	CS 41/1185
Yen Han	Lang-ya	3	5	CS 88/2285
Yü Min	Ying-ch'uan	3	3	CS 50/1395
Yüan Chan	Ch'en-chün	3	5	SS 52/1497

Of the thirty-eight Arbiter posts recorded for the Chin period, four were held by people whose highest official rank was 1; three held an office with Rank 2; twenty-three held offices with Rank 3; two held offices with Rank 4; and six held offices with Rank 5. This means that most of the Arbiter posts were held by people who at some point in their official careers held middle-level office in the central government.

⁴³ Liu Sung's title is mentioned in Sheng Yen's biography in CS 88/2276 which says that Senior Arbiter Liu Sung recommended Sheng Yen for the office of Junior Arbiter in their home region (both were from Kuang-ling). Liu Sung's own biography in CS 46/1293 does not mention this title.

⁴⁴ The T'ao's were originally from P'o-yang, but they moved to Lu-chiang, Hsün-yang, and started using that as their choronym. CS 66/1768.

Of the four Arbiters who held posts with Rank 1, two came from clans that were in no way established: Wei Shu's father held no posts at all, while T'ao K'an's father held a post with Rank 4. The other two Arbiters who held posts with Rank 1 both belonged to the Lu clan from Wu-chün.

Only in the cases of the Lu clan from Wu-chün, and the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan, Chin-yang, is there an indication of a temporary monopoly of the office of Arbiter. Three members of the Lu clan (Lu Yeh, Lu Wan and Lu Na), and four members of the Wang clan (Wang Shu, Wang T'an-chih, Wang Chiao and Wang Yün) held the office in succession.⁴⁵ The Lus had already achieved high bureaucratic status during the Later Han, retained it during the San-kuo period and under the Chin, and remained prominent throughout the medieval period by holding high offices under the Southern dynasties of Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang, and Ch'en. Similarly, the Wangs had established themselves as a bureaucratic clan during the Later Han, retained high status during the Three Kingdoms period and Chin, and went on to hold high offices under the Northern dynasties of T'o-pa Wei, Northern Ch'i, and Chou.

In addition to the seven posts held by the T'ai-yüan Wangs and the Wu-chün Lus, the Hos from Lu-chiang and the Hsüs from Tung-kuan each produced two appointees to the office of the Arbiter. But neither clan was an old bureaucratic clan. They both sprang to national prominence at this time, and while the Hos retained their status under the three succeeding Southern Dynasties of Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i and Liang, the Hsüs' influence extended only into the Liu Sung.⁴⁶

Of the thirty-eight Chin Arbiter posts, only 11 (29%) were held by clans who managed to secure more than one post for their clan.

Of the remaining twenty-seven posts, seven were occupied by members of already established bureaucratic clans.⁴⁷ These were: Chu-ko Hui's clan from Lang-ya (one of the leading families of the San-kuo Kingdom of Shu, which also managed to keep some power for a time under the house of Chin),⁴⁸ Fu Hsien's clan from Pei-ti (an old Later Han bureaucratic clan), Hua Heng's clan from P'ing-yüan (which emerged as a bureaucratic clan during the Three Kingdoms period), Ku Chung's clan from Wu-chün (which emerged as a bureaucratic clan during the Three Kingdoms Period), Liu I's clan from Tung-lai (an old Later Han bureaucratic clan), Yü Min's clan from Ying-ch'uan (an old Later Han bureaucratic clan), and

⁴⁵ As mentioned above, two of the Lus also held the highest government posts with Rank 1.

⁴⁶ Some Hsüs were mentioned in the sources for the Three Kingdoms period, but they cannot be connected to the Hsüs known during the Chin. The Hsüs obviously did not penetrate the circle of the national elite until this time.

⁴⁷ In fact, only three fathers of Arbiter-office appointees during this period held offices of Rank 1. All three belonged to the prominent clans of the period: the Chu-ko clan from Lang-ya, Yang-tu, came into prominence during the San-kuo period, and retained high status under the Chin; the same is true of the Hua clan from P'ing-yüan, Kao-t'ang; the Lu clan from Wu, Wu, has already been discussed above in this section, as one of the two clans who made an attempt to monopolize the office of the Arbiter.

⁴⁸ For the genealogy of the clan and the highest offices the clan held throughout the early mediaeval period see the Appendix in Dusanka D. Miscevic, *Oligarchy or Social Mobility*, Ph.D. thesis.

Yüan Chan's clan from Ch'en-chün (which emerged as a bureaucratic clan during the Three Kingdoms period). In all, fourteen Arbiter posts under the Chin (less than 37%) were held by members of the previously established bureaucratic elite.

This means that 63% of the recorded Arbiter office holders under the Chin came from relatively unknown backgrounds. Liu Sung's clan from Kuang-ling was descended from the Han Prince Hsü of Kuang-ling, and the biography in the *Chin shu* states that it had been a famous clan for generations, but our analysis indicates that this was only true on a local level.⁴⁹ The other clans were not known before the Chin. Some, however, gained prominence at this time, and went on to play an important role under later dynasties. These were the Ch'us from Ho-nan, the Fans from Shun-yang, the Tiaos from Po-hai, and the Wangs from Lang-ya.⁵⁰ The remaining fifteen Arbiters came from clans that were completely unknown before and after this time. This means that 39.5% of all Arbiter appointments during Chin went to people who were complete social upstarts.

The chart below illustrates the origins of the clans of the Chin Arbiters:

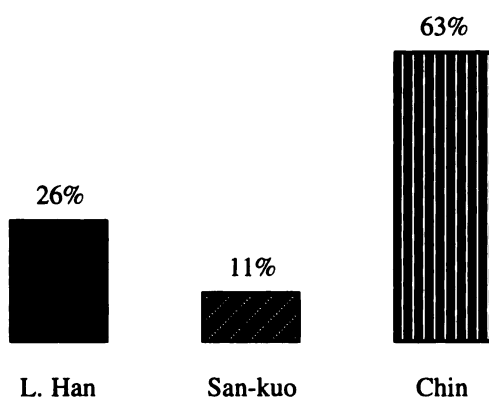


Chart 2a: Origins of clans of Chin Arbiters

Offices with Rank 1

The *Chin shu* records the award of seventy civilian and forty-one military posts with Rank 1 under the Chin. Below are lists of all individuals who held an office with Rank 1. Civilian and military titles are listed separately, indicating the choronym for each individual, and the highest official titles held by his father and grandfather.

⁴⁹ We only know that Sung's father held a post of Governor. CS 46/1293.

⁵⁰ We have already mentioned the Lu-chiang Hos and the Tung-kuan Hsüs, both of whom held two Arbiter appointments, earlier.

Civilian posts with Rank 1

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Chang Chün	An-ting	1	1	CS 86/2233
Chang Chung-hua	An-ting	1	1	CS 86/2240
Chang Hsüan-ching	An-ting	1	1	CS 86/2248
Chang Kuei	An-ting	(uncle 3)	(uncle 3)	CS 86/2221
Chang Mou	An-ting	1	1	CS 86/2230
Chang Shih	An-ting	1	(uncle 3)	CS 86/2226
Chang T'ai-ho	An-ting	1	1	CS 86/2246
Chang T'ien-hsi	An-ting	1	1	CS 86/2246
Chang T'ing-chien	An-ting	1	1	CS 86/2246
Chang Tso	An-ting	1	1	CS 86/2246
Chang Yao-ling	An-ting	1	1	CS 86/2245
Chang Hua	Fan-yang	5	—	CS 36/1068
Ch'en Ch'ien	Lin-huai	1	—	CS 35/1035
Cheng Ch'ung	Hsing-yang	—	—	CS 33/991
Chia Ch'ung	P'ing-yang	4	—	CS 40/1165
Chia P'i	Wu-wei	—	—	CS 60/1652
Ch'ih Chien	Kao-p'ing	—	—	CS 67/1796
Fu Ch'i	Pei-ti	3	5	CS 47/1330
Ho Shao	Ch'en-kuo	1	3	CS 33/998
Ho Tseng	Ch'en-kuo	3	(uncle 3)	CS 33/994
Ho Hsün	K'uai-chi	3	—	CS 68/1824
Hsieh An	Ch'en-chün	3	(uncle 5)	CS 79/2072
Hsieh Tan	Ch'en-chün	5	1	CS 79/2077
Hsün Hsi	Ho-nan	—	—	CS 61/1666
Hsün Fan	Ying-ch'uan	1	(uncle 1)	CS 39/1158
Hsün Hsü	Ying-ch'uan	(uncle 1)	4	CS 39/1152
Hsün I	Ying-ch'uan	1	(uncle 5)	CS 39/1150
Hsün Sung	Ying-ch'uan	4	(uncle 4)	CS 75/1975
Hsün Tsu	Ying-ch'uan	1	(uncle 1)	CS 39/1159
Hu Fen	An-ting	2	—	CS 57/1556
Hua I	P'ing-yüan	2	1	CS 44/1260
Huan Ch'ien	Ch'iao-kuo	2	2	CS 74/1954
Huan Wen	Ch'iao-kuo	3	—	CS 98/2568
Ku Ho	Wu-kuo	(uncle 2)	5	CS 83/2163
Li Hsi	Shang-tang	3	—	CS 41/1188
Li Yin	Liao-tung	—	5	CS 44/1253
Liu K'un	Chung-shan	3	3	CS 62/1679
Liu I	P'eng-ch'eng	3	—	CS 85/2205
Liu Shih	P'ing-yüan	—	—	CS 41/1190
Lu Wan	Wu-chün	3	—	CS 77/2024
Lu Yeh	Wu-chün	3	—	CS 77/2023

P'ei Hsiu	Ho-tung	3	3	CS 35/1037
P'ei K'ai	Ho-tung	4	3	CS 35/1047
P'ei Hsien	Ho-tung	1	4	CS 35/1050
Shan T'ao	Ho-nei	—	—	CS 43/1223
Shih Chien	Lo-ling	—	—	CS 44/1265
Shih Pao	Po-hai	—	—	CS 33/1000
So Ch'en	Tun-huang	3	5	CS 60/1650
T'ao K'an	Po-yang	4	—	CS 66/1768
Ts'ai Mo	Ch'en-liu	5	5	CS 77/2033
Wang Chün	Hung-nung	—	—	CS 42/1207
Wang Han	Lang-ya	(uncle 5)	3	CS 98/2559
Wang Hsiang	Lang-ya	(uncle 5)	5	CS 33/987
Wang Jung	Lang-ya	4	4	CS 43/1231
Wang Mi	Lang-ya	2	1	CS 65/1758
Wang Tao	Lang-ya	5	2	CS 65/1745
Wang Tun	Lang-ya	(uncle 5)	3	CS 98/2552
Wang Yen	Lang-ya	3	4	CS 43/1235
Wang Ying	Lang-ya	1	(uncle 5)	CS 98/2560
Wang Chün	T'ai-yüan	2	5	CS 39/1146
Wang Hun	T'ai-yüan	1	(uncle 4)	CS 42/1201
Wei Kuan	Ho-tung	3	—	CS 36/1055
Wei Shu	Jen-ch'eng	(uncle 5)	—	CS 41/1185
Wen Chiao	T'ai-yüan	5	—	CS 67/1785
Wen Hsien	T'ai-yüan	5	4	CS 44/1266
Wu Kai	P'ei-kuo	3	—	CS 45/1284
Yang Chün	Hung-nung	—	—	CS 40/1177
Yang Hu	T'ai-shan	5	5	CS 34/1013
Yü T'an	K'uai-chi	5	5	CS 76/2012
Yü Liang	Ying-ch'uan	4	—	CS 73/1915

Military posts with Rank 1

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Chang Chün	An-ting	1	1	CS 86/2233
Chang Chung-hua	An-ting	1	1	CS 86/2240
Chang Hsüan-ching	An-ting	1	1	CS 86/2248
Chang Kuei	An-ting	(uncle 3)	(uncle 3)	CS 86/2221
Chang Mou	An-ting	1	1	CS 86/2230
Chang Shih	An-ting	1	(uncle 3)	CS 86/2226
Chang T'ai-ho	An-ting	1	1	CS 86/2246
Chang T'ien-hsi	An-ting	1	1	CS 86/2246
Chang T'ing-chien	An-ting	1	1	CS 86/2246
Chang Tso	An-ting	1	1	CS 86/2246

Chang Yao-ling	An-ting	1	1	CS 86/2245
Chang Hua	Fan-yang	5	—	CS 36/1068
Ch'en Ch'ien	Lin-huai	1	—	CS 35/1035
Ch'ih Chien	Kao-p'ing	—	—	CS 67/1796
Hsieh An	Ch'en-chün	3	(uncle 5)	CS 79/2072
Hsün Hsi	Ho-nan	—	—	CS 61/1666
Hsün Hsü	Ying-ch'uan	(uncle 1)	4	CS 39/1152
Hsün I	Ying-ch'uan	1	(uncle 5)	CS 39/1150
Hsün Sung	Ying-ch'uan	4	(uncle 4)	CS 75/1975
Hu Fen	An-ting	2	—	CS 57/1556
Huan Ch'ien	Ch'iao-kuo	2	2	CS 74/1954
Huan Wen	Ch'iao-kuo	3	—	CS 98/2568
Liu K'un	Chung-shan	3	3	CS 62/1679
Lu Wan	Wu-chün	3	—	CS 77/2024
Lu Yeh	Wu-chün	3	—	CS 77/2023
P'ei K'ai	Ho-tung	4	3	CS 35/1047
Shih Pao	Po-hai	—	—	CS 33/1000
So Ch'en	Tun-huang	3	5	CS 60/1650
T'ao K'an	Po-yang	4	—	CS 66/1768
Ts'ai Mo	Ch'en-liu	5	5	CS 77/2033
Wang Chün	Hung-nung	—	—	CS 42/1207
Wang Han	Lang-ya	(uncle 5)	3	CS 98/2559
Wang Tao	Lang-ya	5	2	CS 65/1745
Wang Tun	Lang-ya	(uncle 5)	3	CS 98/2552
Wang Ying	Lang-ya	1	(uncle 5)	CS 98/2560
Wang Chün	T'ai-yüan	2	5	CS 39/1146
Wei Shu	Jen-ch'eng	(uncle 5)	—	CS 41/1185
Wen Chiao	T'ai-yüan	5	—	CS 67/1785
Yang Hu	T'ai-shan	5	5	CS 34/1013
Yü T'an	K'uai-chi	5	5	CS 76/2012
Yü Liang	Ying-ch'uan	4	—	CS 73/1915

Each individual who held a military office with Rank 1 under the Chin, also held a civilian office with the same rank without exception. In addition, twenty-nine other men held civilian offices with Rank 1.

Among the military office-holders, five clans held more than one post. These were the Changs from An-ting, with eleven office-holders; the Wangs from Lang-ya, with four; the Hsüns from Ying-ch'uan, with three; and the Huans from Ch'iao-kuo and the Lus from Wu-chün, with two office-holders each.

Among the civilian office-holders, eight clans held more than one post: the Changs from An-ting held eleven; the Wangs from Lang-ya held eight; the Hsüns from Ying-ch'uan held five; the P'eis from Ho-tung held three; and the Huans from Ch'iao-kuo, the Lus from Wu-chün, and the Wangs and the Wens, both from T'ai-yüan, held two posts each.

Nineteen military offices with Rank 1 (a little over 46%) were held by single representatives of clans, with no indication that their clans tried to monopolize the high echelons of military power. In the case of civilian offices, thirty-five out of seventy, or exactly 50%, fall into this category.

An obvious example of a clan that attempted to monopolize both military and political power is the Changs from An-ting. With eleven clan members holding both the highest military and civilian positions during the Chin, they immediately catch our attention. The Changs were not an established bureaucratic clan, although the biography of their progenitor from the Chin period, Chang Kuei, claims that he was a seventeenth generation descendant of the Han Prince Erh of Ch'ang-shan.⁵¹ They came to prominence only under the Chin, and only because they managed to usurp the power of the Chin court in all the regions west of the Yellow River (present day Kansu) during the disturbances and instability of the closing years of the Western Chin, known as the Disturbances of the *Yung-chia* Era,⁵² or the Rebellion of the Eight Princes. They awarded the highest ranks to themselves, and even established their own dynasty, the Former Liang, renaming the forty-second year of the *Chien-hsing* era the first year of the *Ho-p'ing* era (The Era of Peace).⁵³ Their dynasty, however, perished before the end of the Eastern Chin, and their prestige and power were consumed by the battles that raged across much of China in the fourth century. Their clan truly attempted to establish an oligarchy, but because their rule lasted a relatively short time, they cannot be considered members of the medieval oligarchy in Johnson's sense.⁵⁴

The Wangs from Lang-ya, already mentioned earlier in this chapter since a member of the clan, Wang Hui-chih, held the office of Arbiter, also attempted to monopolize political and military power in the Chin period. Four of their clan members held offices, both civilian and military, of the highest rank under the Chin, and four others held only the highest-ranked civilian posts. They also sprang into prominence under the Chin, but unlike the Changs from An-ting, they received their appointments and legitimacy from the Chin court. They went on to become the most powerful clan of the Chinese medieval period, although they never again equalled the power and prestige they enjoyed under the Chin.⁵⁵

With two clan members holding both the highest military and civilian offices, and three more members holding civilian offices with Rank 1, the Hsüns from Ying-ch'uan came close to the Lang-ya Wangs in their attempt to monopolize political and military power under the Chin. The Hsüns were an old bureaucratic clan, already prominent under the Later Han, and they went on to retain a certain level of prestige under some of the Southern Dynasties. Their hay-day, too, was under the Chin.⁵⁶

⁵¹ CS 86/2221.

⁵² The *Yung-chia* era lasted from A.D. 307-312.

⁵³ CS 86/2246.

⁵⁴ The Former Liang dynasty lasted 76 years, from A.D. 301 when its founder Chang Kuei received the appointment as the Regional Inspector of Liang-chou from Chin Emperor Hui, to A.D. 376 when its armies were defeated and its last ruler Chang T'ien-hsi escaped. For more detail see Lin Jui-han, *Wei, Chin, Nan-pei ch'ao shih*, pp. 127-133.

⁵⁵ See Note #48 above.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

The P'ei from Ho-tung produced one official who held the highest rank in both the civilian and military hierarchy. Two other clan members held civilian posts with Rank 1. The P'ei emerged as a bureaucratic clan on a national level during the Three Kingdoms period, and went on to hold at least one office under each of the Southern and Northern Dynasties — the only clan to do so.⁵⁷

The Wangs and the Wens from T'ai-yüan each produced one office-holder of the highest rank in both civilian and military bureaucracies, and one additional office-holder of the highest civilian rank each. The Wangs were an old bureaucratic clan already well established under the Later Han, and they retained their eminent status under the Northern Dynasties, reaching the pinnacle of their power in the Chin period.⁵⁸ The Wens came to prominence during the Three Kingdoms period, but only maintained their status under the Chin.

Two members of the Lu clan from Wu-chün held both civilian and military posts with Rank 1. The two Lus, Lu Wan and Lu Yeh, also received appointments as Arbiters. Only two other individuals among all the seventy office-holders with Rank 1 under the Chin also held an office of Arbiter at some point during their career.

If we now turn our attention to the background of all the individuals who held official posts with Rank 1, we find that twenty-nine of the seventy individuals who held civilian posts (41%) came from the already established bureaucratic clans. But among the twenty-nine, clans of nineteen (27%) were established as bureaucratic clans during the Later Han, while ten (14%) accomplished the same during the Three Kingdoms period. In the case of the highest military posts, the proportion of individuals belonging to the old bureaucratic clans is slightly lower, with fifteen out of forty-one (just below 37%) belonging to the old elite. Eleven (27%) of them belonged to old Later Han bureaucratic clans, while the clans of the remaining four (10%) originated during the Three Kingdoms period.

Below are two charts that illustrate the origins of the clans of all the individuals who held offices with Rank 1 during the Chin period:

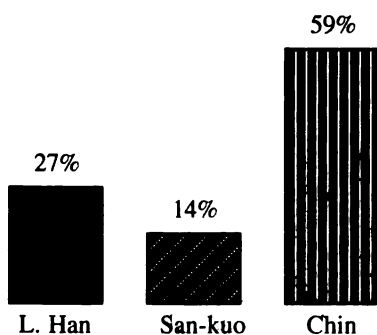


Chart 2b: Origins of clans of civ. office-holders, Rank 1

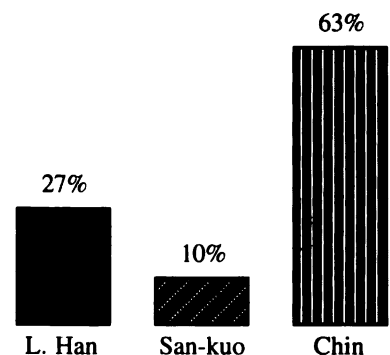


Chart 2c: Origins of clans of mil. office-holders, Rank 1

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

It is worth noting the striking similarity in the proportion of the old bureaucratic clans to the new clans among those holding Arbiter posts and offices, both civilian and military, with Rank 1 under Chin rule. It would appear, then, that there was a correlation between Arbiter posts and the distribution of the highest official posts.

This correlation is most evident in the case of clans who managed to receive both Arbiter appointments and the highest offices in the state bureaucracy. The following list shows their names, choronyms, and the highest offices of their fathers and grandfathers.

Individuals who held military and civilian posts with Rank 1 and the office of Arbiter:

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Lu Wan	Wu-chün	3	—	CS 77/2024
Lu Yeh	Wu-chün	3	—	CS 77/2023
T'ao K'an	Po-yang	4	—	CS 66/1768
Wei Shu	Jen-ch'eng	(uncle 5)	—	CS 41/1185

Judging from this list, it would appear that clans who held Arbiter posts did not manage to translate their influence into domination of the highest echelons of the state bureaucracy. One notable exception was the Lu clan from Wu-chün.

But although only four of the Arbiters attained the highest official posts with Rank 1 themselves, some of the other clans who produced Arbiters also produced office-holders with Rank 1. These clans were: the Fus from Pei-ti, the Huas from P'ing-yüan, the Kus from Wu-chün, the Wangs from Lang-ya, the Wangs from T'ai-yüan, and the Yüs from Ying-ch'uan.

All in all, nine clans under the Chin produced both office-holders with Rank 1 and Arbiters. (There were thirty-eight Arbiters, seventy civilian posts with Rank 1, and forty-one military posts with Rank 1). It would appear, then, that the clans who managed to secure Arbiter posts for their members were not generally in a position to control the central bureaucracy, and did not attain the highest positions of prestige and honor under the Chin.

LIU SUNG

The Liu Sung, again, more or less took over the offices and ranks of the Chin, while introducing a few new ones. The following table lists the offices with Rank 1 awarded by the Liu Sung:

Office	In Chinese	Rank
Grand Mentor	<i>t'ai-fu</i>	1
Grand Guardian	<i>t'ai-pao</i>	1
Grand Steward	<i>t'ai-tsai</i>	1
Defender-in-chief	<i>t'ai-wei</i>	1
Minister of Education	<i>ssu-t'u</i>	1
Minister of Works	<i>ssu-k'ung</i>	1
Commander-in-chief	<i>ta ssu-ma</i>	1
General-in-chief	<i>ta chiang-chün</i>	1

Arbiters

The *Sung shu*, the *Nan-Ch'i shu* and the *Liang shu* record the award of thirty-six Arbiter posts during the Liu Sung period. This figure includes both Senior (*ta chung-cheng*) and Junior (*hsiao chung-cheng*) Arbiter posts.⁵⁹ Below is a list of the individuals who held the posts, their choronyms, highest official ranks, and the highest ranks held by their fathers.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Choronym</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Father's Rank</u>	<u>Source</u>
Chang Hsü	Wu-chün	3	5	NCS 33/600
Chang Mou-tu	Wu-chün	3	3	SS 53/1509
Chang Yung	Wu-chün	2	3	SS 53/1511
Chiang Chan	Chi-yang	3	3	SS 71/1848
Chiang I	Chi-yang	3	5	SS 53/1525
Ch'iu Ling-chü	Wu-hsing	4	—	NCS 52/889
Hsiao Ssu-hua	Nan-lan-ling	2	3	SS 78/2011
Hsü Kuang	Tung-kuan	3	4	SS 55/1547
Hsün Po-tzu	Ying-ch'uan	3	(uncle 3)	SS 60/1627
Ku Ch'en	Wu-chün	3	—	SS 81/2076
Ku K'ai-chih	Wu-chün	3	—	SS 81/2079
K'ung Chi-kung	K'uai-chi	3	5	SS 54/1531
K'ung I	K'uai-chi	5	(uncle 5)	SS 84/2153
K'ung Lin-chih	K'uai-chi	3	3	SS 56/1559
Liu Yüan-ching	Ho-tung	1	5	SS 77/1981
Liu Chan	Nan-yang	3	3	SS 69/1815
Liu Yen-sun	P'eng-ch'eng	2	3	SS 78/2020
Liu Huai-chen	P'ing-yüan	3	(uncle 5)	NCS 27/499
P'ei Sung-chih	Ho-tung	3	—	SS 64/1698

⁵⁹ As stated earlier, this study does not distinguish between the two.

Shen Po ⁶⁰	Wu-hsing	5	3	NCS 34/616
Shen T'an-ch'ing	Wu-hsing	3	5	SS 54/1539
Shen Yen-chih	Wu-hsing	3	5	SS 63/1686
T'an Tao-chi	Kao-p'ing	1	—	SS 43/1341
Teng Wan	Yü-chang	3	—	SS 84/2129
Ts'ai Hsing-tsung	Chi-yang	1	3	SS 57/1573
Wang Chen-chih	Lang-ya	3	(uncle 3)	SS 92/2262
Wang Ching-hung	Lang-ya	1	3	SS 66/1729
Wang Ch'iu	Lang-ya	3	1	SS 58/1594
Wang K'un	Lang-ya	2	(uncle 1)	NCS 32/577
Wang Shao-chih	Lang-ya	3	5	SS 60/1625
Wang K'ang ⁶¹	Pei-hai	4	5	NCS 34/617
Wang Ch'en	Tung-hai	3	—	NCS 34/616
Yang Kuei	T'ai-shan	3	—	LS39/557 ⁶²
Yü Ping-chih	Ying-ch'uan	3	5	SS 53/1516
Yü Kuei-chih	? ⁶³	5	?	NCS 34/617
Yüan I	Ch'en-chün	3	5	SS 84/2148

Of the thirty-six Arbiter posts recorded for the Liu Sung period, four were held by people whose highest Official Rank was 1; four held an office with Rank 2; twenty-three held offices with Rank 3; two held offices with Rank 4; and three held an office with Rank 5. Again, most of the Arbiter posts were held by people who at some point during their official careers held middle-level office in the central government.

There is a clear indication that the Liu Sung office-holding clans tried to monopolize the office of Arbiter. Eighteen of the thirty-six posts (exactly 50%) were held by clans that received more than one Arbiter appointment. (Under the Chin, that figure was eleven out of thirty-eight, or just under 29%). The Wangs from Lang-ya managed to have five clan members appointed to this post. The Changs from Wu-chün, the K'ungs from K'uai-chi, and the Shens from Wu-hsing received three Arbiter appointments each. The Chiang clan from Chi-yang and the Ku clan from Wu-chün each had two members appointed to the office of Arbiter.

But not all of these Liu Sung Arbiter office-holding clans were old bureaucratic clans. The Wu-chün Kus were an old clan that had emerged on the national scene during the Three Kingdoms period; the K'uai-chi K'ungs, Wu-hsing Shens and Lang-ya Wangs can be traced back to the Chin. The Wu-chün Changs, however, and the Chi-yang Chiangs, were new to the national bureaucratic elite.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Shen Po has a biography in SS 63/1686, but it does not mention his appointment as a "Little Arbiter" (*hsiao chung-cheng*) which is mentioned in Wang Ch'en's biography in PCS 34/616.

⁶¹ Wang K'ang has a biography in SS 45/1371, but it does not mention his appointment as a "Little Arbiter" (*hsiao chung-cheng*) which is mentioned in Wang Ch'en's biography in PCS 34/617.

⁶² Yang Kuei's title is mentioned in the biography of his grandson, Yang K'an, in LS 39/556.

⁶³ Yü Kuei-chih is only mentioned in Wang Ch'en's biography in PCS 34/617, which comments on his appointment as a "Little Arbiter" (*hsiao chung-cheng*) during the Liu Sung. The Liu Sung sources do not mention him. His choronym is not known.

⁶⁴ Both went on to play an important role in the South for some dynasties to come.

Besides the eighteen Arbiters who belonged to clans with more than one appointment — thirteen of whom belonged to the already established bureaucratic clans — eight other Arbiters came from clans that were prominent prior to this time. These were the Hsiehs from Ch'en-chün (who emerged under the Chin), the Hsüs from Tung-kuan (who emerged during the Chin),⁶⁵ the Hsüns from Ying-ch'uan (an old Later Han bureaucratic clan), the P'eis from Ho-tung (who emerged during the Three Kingdoms period),⁶⁶ the Wangs from Tung-hai (who emerged during the Three Kingdoms period),⁶⁷ the Yangs from T'ai-shan (an old Later Han bureaucratic clan), the Yüs from Ying-ch'uan (an old Later Han bureaucratic clan), and the Yüans from Ch'en-chün (who emerged during the Three Kingdoms period).

The remaining ten Arbiters mentioned under the Liu Sung came from clans that first emerged on the national scene at this time. Five of these clans, namely the Nan-lan-ling Hsiaos, the P'ing-yüan Lius, the Ho-tung Lius, the P'eng-ch'eng Lius, and the Chi-yang Ts'ais, went on to play important roles later in the early medieval period. Only the remaining five Arbiters came from completely unknown backgrounds. The background of one Arbiter, Yü Kuei-chih, is obscure because he is only mentioned in Wang Ch'en's biography in PCS 34/617, which comments on his appointment as Junior Arbiter (*hsiao chung-cheng*) during the Liu Sung, but does not give his choronym. The Liu Sung sources do not mention him at all.⁶⁸ The other four Arbiters (or a little over 11%) belonged to clans that never played an important role in national politics, and can truly be described as social upstarts.

The following chart illustrates the origins of the clans of Arbiters during the Liu Sung period:

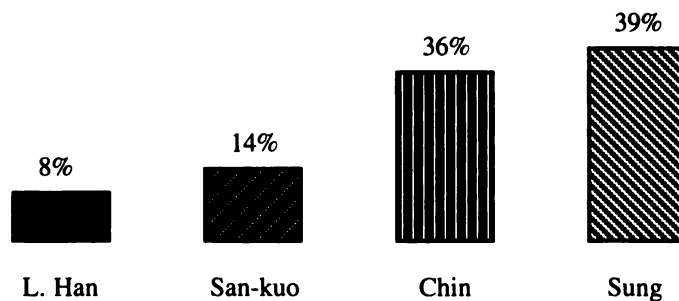


Chart 3a: Origins of clans of the Liu Sung Arbiters

⁶⁵ Some Hsüs from Tung-kuan were already mentioned in the sources for the Three Kingdoms period, but their direct family ties with later Hsüs cannot be established.

⁶⁶ The P'ei's known during the Liu Sung period are not directly related to the earlier P'eis. Their genealogy cannot be drawn.

⁶⁷ The Tung-hai Wangs were well known during the Three Kingdoms period and the Chin. At this time, their clan was already in decline. Wang Ch'en does not claim relationship with any of the previously known Wangs.

⁶⁸ He probably belonged to the Ying-ch'uan Yüs, since most Yüs of that surname mentioned in the sources for the early medieval period came from that clan.

It should be noted that in contrast to the background of Chin Arbiters, of whom as many as 63% came from new, unestablished clans, only fourteen of the Liu Sung Arbiters (39%) came from unknown clans. Twenty-one of the Arbiters (58%) belonged to established bureaucratic clans.⁶⁹ There was a clear change in the nature of the office of Arbiter, that occurred between the Chin and the Liu Sung time — most likely during the transition of the Chin court to the South, and the establishment of the Eastern Chin court.

Offices with Rank 1

There were markedly fewer posts with Rank 1 whose award was recorded for the Liu Sung, compared to the preceding dynasties: fifteen civilian posts, and twelve military posts in all. Below are lists of all the individuals who held the posts. Civilian and military posts are listed separately, indicating the choronym for each individual, and the highest official titles held by his father and grandfather.

Civilian posts with Rank 1

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Ch'u Yüan	Ho-nan	3	3	SS 52/1506
Fan T'ai	Shun-yang	5	3	SS 60/1615
Fu Liang	Pei-ti	5	3	SS 43/1335
Ho Shang-chih	Lu-chiang	3	5	SS 66/1732
Hsü Hsien-chih	Tung-hai	—	5	SS 43/1329
Liu Yüan-ching	Ho-tung	5	5	SS 77/1981
Shen Ch'ing-chih	Wu-hsing	(uncle 5)	3	SS 77/1996
Shen Yu-chih	Wu-hsing	5	3	SS 74/1927
T'an Tao-ch'i	Kao-p'ing	—	—	SS 43/1341
Ts'ai Hsing-tsung	Chi-yang	3	low	SS 57/1573
Tsang Chih	Tung-kuan	3	—	SS 74/1909
Wang Ching-hung	Lang-ya	5	4	SS 66/1729
Wang Hung	Lang-ya	1	3	SS 42/1311
Wang Hsüan-mo	T'ai-yüan	(uncle 1)	5	SS 76/1973
Yüan Ts'an	Ch'en-chün	(uncle 1)	(uncle 4)	SS 89/2229

⁶⁹ The numbers and percentages do not add up because without sure proof of Yü Kuei-chih's background, he is not counted as either old, or new clan. NCS 34/617.

Military posts with Rank 1

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Fu Liang	Pei-ti	5	3	SS 43/1335
Ho Shang-chih	Lu-chiang	3	5	SS 66/1732
Liu Yüan-ching	Ho-tung	5	5	SS 77/1981
Shen Ch'ing-chih	Wu-hsing	(uncle 5)	3	SS 77/1996
Shen Yu-chih	Wu-hsing	5	3	SS 74/1927
T'an Tao-ch'i	Kao-p'ing	—	—	SS 43/1341
Ts'ai Hsing-tsung	Chi-yang	3	low	SS 57/1573
Tsang Chih	Tung-kuan	3	—	SS 74/1909
Wang Ching-hung	Lang-ya	5	4	SS 66/1729
Wang Hung	Lang-ya	1	3	SS 42/1311
Wang Hsüan-mo	T'ai-yüan	(uncle 1)	5	SS 76/1973
Yüan Ts'an	Ch'en-chün	(uncle 1)	(uncle 4)	SS 89/2229

Under the Liu Sung, just as under the Chin, each individual who held a military post with Rank 1 also held a civilian post with the same rank. In addition, three other men held civilian posts with Rank 1.

Only two clans among the office-holders of the highest rank held more than one post. Those were the Shen clan from Wu-hsing and the Wang clan from Lang-ya. Both clans acquired considerable power under the preceding Chin dynasty, and were therefore entrenched bureaucratic clans by this time.

If we compare the number of posts occupied by members of clans who held more than one highest-level appointment recorded at this time with that recorded for the preceding Chin dynasty, the number is now smaller. Such clans held only four of the fifteen civilian posts with Rank 1 (26% of them), and four of the twelve military posts (33%). There is no indication at this time that particular clans tried to monopolize the highest echelons of the central bureaucracy.

Most of the clans who produced office-holders of the highest rank were, however, the old bureaucratic clans. Only four appointees to both civilian and military posts with Rank 1 did not belong to established bureaucratic clans. This means that 73% of all civilian appointments and 67% of all military appointments with Rank 1 awarded by the Liu Sung regime went to established bureaucratic clans. But, in a curious development, "old and established" at this time generally meant dating back only to the Chin period. With the exception of the Fus from Pei-ti and the Wangs from T'ai-yüan (two old Later Han clans), and the Yüans from Ch'en-chün (who emerged on the national scene during the Three Kingdoms period), all the other "old bureaucratic clans" that produced office-holders with Rank 1 under the Liu Sung dynasty first gained prestige and power under the preceding Chin dynasty.

Below are two charts that illustrate the origins of the clans of all the individuals who held offices with Rank 1 during the Liu Sung period:

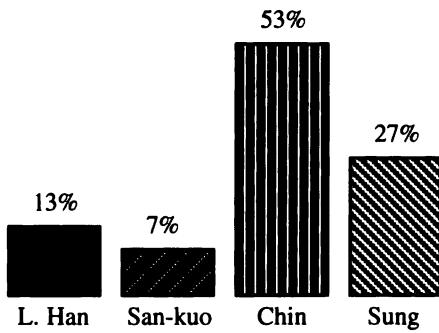


Chart 3b: Origins of clans of civ. office-holders, Rank 1

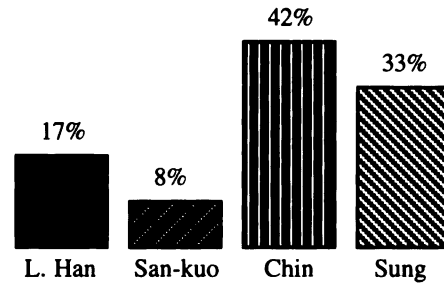


Chart 3c: Origins of clans of mil. office-holders, Rank 1

In terms of percentages, even fewer office-holders with Rank 1 than Arbiters came from unestablished bureaucratic clans under the Liu Sung. It seems that it was very difficult for someone outside the established elite to break into the circle from which these posts were filled: slightly easier for Arbiter appointments and the highest military posts, than for the civilian posts with Rank 1. There appears to have been a correlation between Arbiter appointments and the control of the highest posts of the state bureaucracy.

Let us turn our attention to those who held both. There were four such individuals, as the following list shows:

Individuals who held military or civilian posts with Rank 1 and the office of the Arbiter

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Liu Yüan-ching	Ho-tung	5	5	SS 77/1981
T'an Tao-chi ⁷⁰	Kao-p'ing	—	—	SS 43/1341
Ts'ai Hsing-tsung	Chi-yang	3	low	SS 57/1573
Wang Ching-hung	Lang-ya	3	3	SS 66/1729

Curiously, most of the individuals who held both official posts with Rank 1 and an office of Arbiter under the Liu Sung dynasty did not belong to the old bureaucratic elite. Only one of them came from a well established clan. This was Wang Ching-hung,⁷¹ who belonged to the most powerful medieval clan in the South

⁷⁰ T'an Tao-ch'i was appointed Arbiter under the Chin. He achieved the highest offices with Rank 1 under the Liu Sung.

⁷¹ Ching-hung was his courtesy name. His given name was identical with Emperor Kao-tsu's taboo.

— the Lang-ya Wangs. Beginning with the Chin, 137 members of this clan held offices above Rank 5, producing at least one office-holder with Rank 1 under each of the Southern dynasties.

The other three Arbiters with Rank 1 came from clans that were new on the scene of national politics. Liu Yüan-ching's clan from Ho-tung, Chieh, first emerged as an office-holding clan during this period, but its members went on to hold offices under the Southern dynasties of Southern Ch'i and Liang, and the Northern dynasties of T'o-pa Wei and Chou.⁷² Ts'ai Hsing-tsung's clan from Chi-yang, K'ao-ch'eng, first sprang to national prominence during the Liu Sung period, too, and its members continued to hold office during the Southern dynasties of Southern Ch'i, Liang, and Ch'en. T'an Tao-chi's clan from Kao-p'ing, Chin-hsiang, also emerged on the national scene during this period, and its members went on to hold office into the Southern Ch'i.⁷³

But, although only four of the Arbiters attained the highest official posts with Rank 1 themselves, two other clans whose members held Arbiter posts under the Liu Sung also produced office-holders with Rank 1. These clans were: the Shens from Wu-hsing and the Yüans from Ch'en-chün. Both were old bureaucratic clans, the Shens having emerged during the preceding Chin dynasty, and the Yüans being an older clan already known during the Three Kingdoms period.

All in all, six clans under the Liu Sung produced both office-holders with Rank 1 and Arbiters. (There were thirty-six Arbiters during this period, we should recall, but only fifteen civilian posts with Rank 1, and twelve military posts with Rank 1). Therefore, although a rather high proportion of office-holders with Rank 1 came from clans who also produced local Arbiters, the clans who managed to secure Arbiter posts for their members did not automatically convert the influence granted by this office into control of the highest levels of the central bureaucracy.

SOUTHERN CH'I

Despite the fact that the *Nan-Ch'i shu*, among other treatises, contains a chapter on bureaucracy,⁷⁴ the *T'ung-tien* is unable to provide any information on office-holding during the Southern Ch'i dynasty.⁷⁵ As the *Nan-Ch'i shu* gives no ranks, the ranks in the following table are based on those for corresponding offices under previous dynasties.

The Treatise on Bureaucracy notes that the posts of Chancellor-in-chief (*hsi-*

⁷² All in all 33 members of this clan held office above Rank 5, starting with the Liu Sung period. Liu Yüan-ching, however, was the only clan member to hold office with Rank 1.

⁷³ Some T'ans from Kao-p'ing were already mentioned in the sources for the Chin period, but direct family ties with the later T'ans cannot be established.

⁷⁴ NCS 16, pp. 311-348.

⁷⁵ TT 37, pp. 18A-B.

ang-kuo, or alternatively *kuo-hsiang*), Grand Steward (*t'ai-tsai*), and Grand Guardian (*t'ai-pao*), as well as those of Commander-in-chief (*ta ssu-ma*) and General-in-chief (*ta Chiang-chün*), now became honorific titles conferred posthumously, rather than the highest offices in the functioning administration with Rank 1. Some of the ancient Chou titles of the Three Dukes were no longer in use; the title of Grand Preceptor (*t'ai-shih*) was abolished altogether.⁷⁶ The Southern Ch'i court made appointments to the office of Grand Mentor (*t'ai-fu*) — the only title from among the Chou Three Dukes still in use. This office was now known as one of the Three Superior Dukes (*shang-kung*). The offices of Defender-in-chief (*t'ai-wei*), Minister of Education (*ssu-t'u*) and Minister of Works (*ssu-k'ung*), now known as the Three Dukes, were in use, with Rank 1. Also ranked 1 and known as Dukes, or Dukes — Lower Class,⁷⁷ were the offices of Lord Specially Advanced (*t'eh-chin*), Commander Unequalled in Honor (*k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu*), and the following Generals, if their title was prefixed by Great (*ta*):⁷⁸ Cavalry General-in-chief (*p'iao-chi ta Chiang-chün*), Chariot and Horse General-in-chief (*ch'e-chi ta Chiang-chün*), General-in-chief of the Guards (*wei ta Chiang-chün*), etc.

The following table lists the offices with Rank 1 awarded by the Southern Ch'i:

Office	In Chinese	Rank
Grand Mentor	<i>t'ai-fu</i>	1
Defender-in-chief	<i>t'ai-wei</i>	1
Minister of Education	<i>ssu-t'u</i>	1
Minister of Works	<i>ssu-k'ung</i>	1
Lord Specially Advanced	<i>t'eh-chin</i>	1
Commander Unequalled in Honor	<i>k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu</i>	1
Cavalry General-in-chief	<i>p'iao-chi ta Chiang-chün</i>	1
Chariot and Horse General-in-chief	<i>ch'e-chi ta Chiang-chün</i>	1
General-in-chief of the Guards	<i>wei ta Chiang-chün</i>	1

Arbiters

There were thirty-one recorded appointments to the office of Arbiter during the Southern Ch'i period.⁷⁹ Below is a list of the individuals who held the posts, their choronyms, highest official ranks, and the highest ranks held by their fathers.

⁷⁶ It had been gradually replaced by Grand Steward (*t'ai-tsai*), to form the Superior Dukes (*shang-kung*) with Grand Guardian and Grand Mentor under the Chin.

⁷⁷ Lower class (*ts'ung*) is a subgrade of a rank, in contrast to Upper class (*cheng*), and is used prefixed to a rank (*ts'ung-kung*, meaning Duke, Lower Class) or to a numeral (*ts'ung san-p'in*, meaning Rank 3, lower class).

⁷⁸ With the prefix the title reads General-in-chief (*ta Chiang-chün*).

⁷⁹ Two of the appointments actually took place before the abdication of the Liu Sung court, but they were made by the newly forming Ch'i court.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Choronym</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Father's Rank</u>	<u>Source</u>
Chang Hsü	Wu-chün	3	5	NCS 33/600
Chiang Chiao	Chi-yang	3	—	NCS 43/757
Chiang Ch'ien	Chi-yang	3	3	LS 21/333
Chou Feng-shu	Pei-lan-ling ⁸⁰	3	3	NCS 29/545
Fan Hsiu	Chi-yang	3	—	LS 26/391
Fan Yün	Nan-hsiang	3	—	LS 13/229
Fu Chao	Pei-ti	3	4	LS 26/392
Ho Yin	Lu-chiang	2	5	LS 51/735
Hsieh Yüeh	Ch'en-chün	3	3	NCS 43/762
Hsü Hsiao-ssu	Tung-hai	3	—	NCS 44/771
Hu Hsieh-chih	Yü-chang	3	—	NCS 37/656
Ku Hsien-chih	Wu-chün	3	—	LS 52/758
K'ung Chih-kuei	K'uai-chi	3	3	NCS 48/835
Liu Shih-lung	Ho-tung	2	(uncle 1)	NCS 24/445
Liu Huai-wei	P'ing-yüan	3	5	NCS 53/917
Lu Ch'eng	Wu-chün	3	—	NCS 39/681
Lü An-kuo	Kuang-ling	3	—	NCS 29/537
Shen Yüeh	Wu-hsing	2	5	LS 13/232
Ts'ai Pao	Chi-yang	3	1	NCS 46/804
Tsang Wei-chen	Tung-kuan	5	3	LS 42/599
Ts'ui Tsu-ssu ⁸¹	Ch'ing-ho	3	—	NCS 28/517
Wang Chien	Lang-ya	1	3	NCS 23/433
Wang Huan	Lang-ya	3	5	NCS 49/847
Wang Yen	Lang-ya	1	3	NCS 42/741
Wang Yen-chih	Lang-ya	2	3	NCS 32/585
Yü Kao-chih	Hsin-yeh	2	5	NCS 34/615
Yü Ts'ung	K'uai-chi	3	5	NCS 37/654
Yü Wan-chih ⁸²	K'uai-chi	4	3	NCS 34/607
Yü Yüan	K'uai-chi	3	—	NCS 53/915
Yüan Hsiang	Ch'en-chün	3	5	NCS 48/833
Yüan Jung-tsu	Hsia-p'ei	2	(uncle 5)	NCS 28/529

⁸⁰ His ancestors were from Pei-lan-ling, but were cut off from their ancestral lands during the Liu Sung. Subsequently, they became known as the Chous from Tung-p'ing. NCS 29/545.

⁸¹ Ts'ui Tsu-ssu received the appointment before the abdication of the Liu Sung court to the Southern Ch'i — technically during the Liu Sung period — but he received it from the newly forming Ch'i court. I consider it a Ch'i appointment. NCS 28/517.

⁸² Yü Wan-chih received the appointment from the Northern Ch'i T'ai-tsu Emperor before the official abdication of the Liu Sung court. It was, however, a Ch'i appointment. NCS 34/607.

Of the thirty-one recorded appointees to the office of Arbiter during the Southern Ch'i period, only two held an office with Rank 1; six held offices with Rank 2; twenty-one held offices with Rank 3; and one held an office with Rank 4 and Rank 5. Again, most of the Arbiters held middle-level offices in the central government. Both Arbiters who held offices with Rank 1 belonged to the Wang clan from Lang-ya.

The Lang-ya Wangs were, once again, the clan to receive the highest number of appointments to the office of Arbiter. They held four posts during the Southern Ch'i. The Yüs from K'uai-chi followed closely with three appointments. The only other clan to hold more than one Arbiter post were the Chiangs of Chi-yang, who received two posts. All three clans that held more than one Arbiter appointment were old bureaucratic clans: the Chiangs had emerged during the Liu Sung dynasty, the Wangs during the Chin, and the Yüs were known from the Three Kingdoms period.⁸³

It should be noted that under the Southern Ch'i a high percentage of Arbiter posts went to clans who held only one such post: twenty-two of the thirty-one posts, or 71%. Comparable numbers for earlier periods were twenty-five of the thirty-six Chin posts (69%), and only seventeen of the thirty-five Liu Sung posts (48%).

In addition to the nine Arbiters who belonged to well-established clans mentioned above that produced more than one Arbiter, twelve others could claim prominent backgrounds. These were the Arbiters from the Chang clan from Wu-chün (which emerged during the Liu Sung dynasty), the Fu clan from Pei-ti (an old Later Han clan), the Ho clan from Lu-chiang (which emerged during the Chin), the Hsieh clan from Ch'en-chün (which emerged during the Chin), the Hsü clan from Tung-hai (which emerged during the Chin), the Ku clan from Wu-chün (which emerged during the Three Kingdoms period), the K'ung clan from K'uai-chi (which emerged during the Chin), the Lu clan from Wu-chün (an old Later Han clan), the Shen clan from Wu-hsing (which emerged during the Chin), the Ts'ai clan from Chi-yang (which emerged during the Liu Sung dynasty), the Ts'ui clan from Ch'ing-ho (which emerged during the Liu Sung dynasty), and the Yüan clan from Ch'en-chün (which emerged during the Three Kingdoms period).

This leaves ten Arbiters whose background is relatively modest or unknown.⁸⁴ Namely, 32% of the Arbiter appointments under the Southern Ch'i were awarded to individuals without established bureaucratic status.

The following chart illustrates the origins of the clans of all Arbiters during the Southern Ch'i period:

⁸³ The Yüs were quite well known during the Three Kingdoms period and the Chin, but their influence seems to have declined under the Liu Sung, since direct family ties between the earlier and later Yüs cannot be established. The three Arbiter posts they held under the Southern Ch'i seem to indicate the clans undiminished power on the local level.

⁸⁴ Four of their fathers held relatively low offices with Rank 3 or below, while six of the fathers held no office at all (in two cases offices of paternal uncles are known).

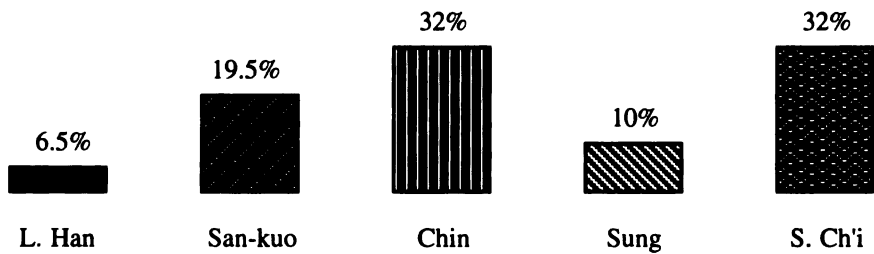


Chart 4a: Origins of clans of the Southern Ch'i Arbiters

It should be noted that the ratio of new and old clans who provided Arbiters under the Southern Ch'i is almost the reverse of the ratio under the Chin, when only 37% of the Arbiters belonged to the established bureaucratic elite, but very close to the Liu Sung ratio, when 39% of the Arbiters came from new, unknown clans. Also, among the established clans, the highest number were the clans that had first gained prominence during Chin dynasty.

Offices with Rank 1

The number of posts with Rank 1 whose award was recorded for the Southern Ch'i dynasty was even lower than that recorded for the preceding Liu Sung dynasty: five civilian posts, and six military posts in all.

Below are lists of all the individuals who held them. Civilian and military posts are listed separately, indicating the choronym for each individual, and the highest official titles held by his father and grandfather.

Civilian posts with Rank 1

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Chang Ching-erh	Nan-yang	5	—	NCS 25/464
Ch'en Hsien-ta	Nan-p'eng-ch'eng	—	—	NCS 26/488
Ch'u Yüan	Ho-nan	3	3	NCS 23/425
Wang Ching-tse	Chin-ling	—	—	NCS 26/479
Wang Chien	Lang-ya	3	3	NCS 23/433
Wang K'un	Lang-ya	—	3	NCS 32/577
Wang Seng-Ch'in	Lang-ya	3	3	NCS 33/591
Wang Yen-chih	Lang-ya	3	1	NCS 32/584

Military posts with Rank 1

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Chang Ching-erh	Nan-yang	5	—	NCS 25/464
Ch'en Hsien-ta	Nan-p'eng-ch'eng	—	—	NCS 26/488
Ch'u Yüan	Ho-nan	3	3	NCS 23/425
Wang Ching-tse	Chin-ling	—	—	NCS 26/479
Wang Chien	Lang-ya	3	3	NCS 23/433
Wang Yen	Lang-ya	3	3	NCS 42/741

With the exception of Wang Yen from Lang-ya, who held only a military post with Rank 1, all the other individuals who held civilian titles of the highest rank under the Southern Ch'i, also held military titles of the same rank. This is very often due to the new title of the Commander Unequalled in Honor (*k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu*), which combined civilian with military duties and slowly started to replace other titles with Rank 1, until it became the most commonly awarded title with Rank 1 in the early medieval history.

Only one clan held more than one post with Rank 1 during this period: the Lang-ya Wangs. Two members of the Lang-ya Wang clan held military posts of the highest rank. One of them, Wang Chien, was a Commander Unequalled in Honor (*k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu*), i.e. his office was both military and civilian in nature. There is no indication that any other clan attempted to monopolize political power at this time.

Two of the five civilian appointments with Rank 1 under the Southern Ch'i (40%) went to members of established bureaucratic clans; the ratio was three out of six (50%) in the case of the military appointments. The two clans whose members received the appointments, the Ho-nan Ch'us and the Lang-ya Wangs, both emerged on the national scene under the Chin.

Below are two charts that illustrate the origins of the clans of all the individuals who held offices with Rank 1 during the Southern Ch'i period:

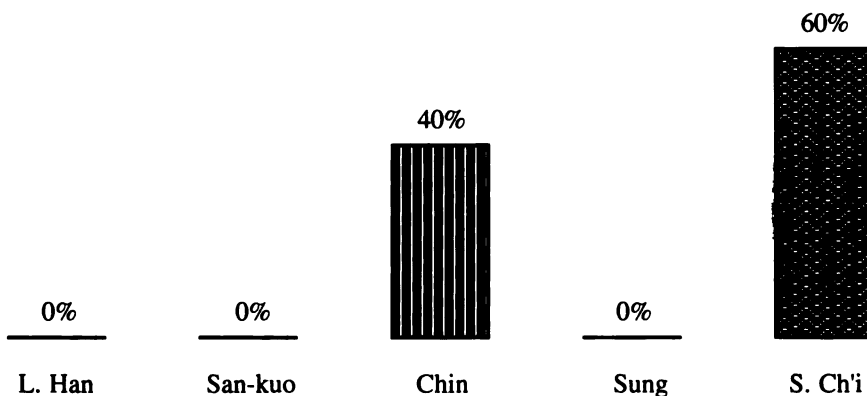


Chart 4b: Origins of clans of civilian office-holders, Rank 1

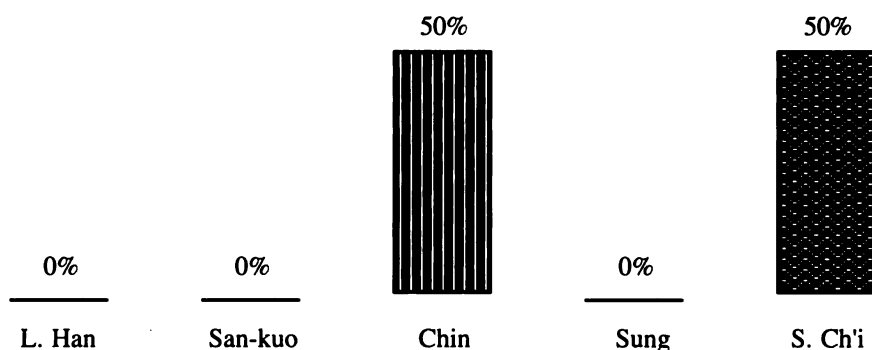


Chart 4c: Origins of clans of military office-holders, Rank 1

Unlike the backgrounds of the Arbiter appointees under the Southern Ch'i, which reflected rather closely the pattern established by the background of the Arbiters appointed during the preceding Liu Sung dynasty, the pattern for office-holders with Rank 1 is quite different. Not only is the proportion of "old" clans among the bureaucratic elite much lower at this time — "old" has now come exclusively to mean Chin origin. Under the Southern Ch'i rulers, therefore, there seems to be no direct correlation between the Arbiter appointments, and control of the highest echelons of the state bureaucracy.

Let us now turn our attention to the clans who produced both Arbiters and office-holders with Rank 1 under the Southern Ch'i. Only two Southern Ch'i Arbiters also held offices with Rank 1. They both belonged to the Lang-ya Wang clan.

Individuals who held military or civilian posts with Rank 1 and the office of the Arbiter

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Wang Chien ⁸⁵	Lang-ya	3	3	NCS 23/433
Wang Yen	Lang-ya	3	3	NCS 42/741

No other clan produced both office-holders of the highest rank and Arbiters during this period. We should recall that thirty-one Arbiter posts were awarded by the Southern Ch'i, but only five civilian and six military posts With Rank 1. Obviously, it was very difficult for clans who held Arbiter appointments to convert their local influence into control of the highest levels of the state bureaucracy. Monopolization of the state bureaucracy of the Southern Ch'i did not succeed, even though the Lang-ya Wangs made their usual attempt.

⁸⁵ Wang Chien was appointed Arbiter under the Liu Sung, while he achieved the highest office with Rank 1 under the Southern Ch'i. Under the Liu Sung the highest office he held had Rank 3. He was not an Arbiter under the Southern Ch'i.

LIANG

The Liang Emperor Wu decreed in the first year of his reign (A.D. 502) that all offices should be divided into nine ranks (*p'in*). Then he issued amendments, ordering that Rank 1 be the equivalent of 10,000 bushels (*shih*), Ranks 2 and 3 the equivalent of 2,000 bushels, Ranks 4 and 5 the equivalent of 2,000 bushels.⁸⁶ During the seventh year of his reign (in A.D. 508), a new system of classification was adopted. All offices were divided into eighteen grades (*pan*), somewhat reminiscent of the Han administrative scale which consisted of eighteen ranks: sixteen ranks expressed in bushels and two ranks below them.⁸⁷

Under the Liang, there were a further seven grades below the eighteen grades of the regular bureaucracy.⁸⁸ These were occupied by people who received a rank below 2 from their local Arbiter.⁸⁹ The seven grades consisted mostly of lower posts on the staff of various imperial relatives: younger brothers of the reigning Emperor and his sons, i.e. the Imperial Princes; sons of Imperial Princes, i.e. the Princes Presumptive (the eldest sons by their principal wives) and Regional Princes (sons other than the Princes Presumptive);⁹⁰ and the staffs of various fiefs: Princedoms and Dukedoms (both commanderies and districts).⁹¹ These posts are not relevant to this study.

The Liang also instituted "coarse" posts (*yün wei*)⁹² and honorary posts (*hsün wei*) of the Third Rank (*p'in*). In the twenty-three regions (*chou*), the local administration was divided into ten grades, with governors on the top, and Aides at the bottom. The district administration was divided into seven grades. All offices in the prefectural and district administration were considered inner posts.⁹³

Finally, by the reform decree of A.D. 508, all military posts were divided into twenty-four grades (*pan*). There were one hundred and twenty-five designations for Generals, with Defender-general (*chen Chiang-chün*), General of the Guards (*wei Chiang-chün*), Cavalry General (*p'iao-chi Chiang-chün*), and Chariot and Horse General (*ch'e-chi Chiang-chün*) ranked the highest as Grade 24. These designations were also grouped into ten ranks (*p'in*), with Rank 10 the highest. Generally, Rank 10 corresponded to Grade 24.

⁸⁶ The lack of distinction among Ranks 2, 3, 4 and 5 seems puzzling. See *Sui shu*, ch. 26, p. 729.

⁸⁷ For details on the Han ranking scale see Hans Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, p. 4.

⁸⁸ David Johnson calls them the *liu-wai* posts, mistakenly attributing a reference to Ch'en bureaucracy in *Sui shu*, ch. 26, p. 741 to the Liang situation. Terms *liu-nei* and *liu-wai* ("of official status" and "not of official status") came to be widely used during the Sui and the T'ang. Charles Hucker traces the first occurrence of the *liu-wai* term to an unspecified time during the period of North-South Division (Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, entries #3802 and #3822 on p. 318. and p. 321 respectively). To my knowledge, the term *liu-wai* was first used in reference to the Ch'en bureaucracy. It seems, however, to be well suited for the Liang separation between the 18 and 7 grades. Johnson, *Medieval Oligarchy*, p. 83 and p. 96, Note #28.

⁸⁹ Literally, "those who didn't make it into Rank 2", or "*wei pu teng erh-p'in-che*." David Johnson calls them "poor *shih*," again citing a reference to Ch'en dynasty. *Ibid.*, p. 96, Note #28.

⁹⁰ The noble titles of Prince Presumptive (*ssu-wang*) and Regional Prince (*fan-wang*), ranked 1 and 2 according to the ranking scale of the nobility, originated in Liang. See corresponding entries in Charles Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, p. 208 and p. 458.

⁹¹ *Sui shu*, ch. 26, pp. 733-735.

⁹² The term is unclear.

⁹³ *Sui shu*, ch. 26, p. 736. The nature of "inner posts" in this context is unclear.

There were several further reforms of the grading system for army posts after the initial reform of A.D. 508, namely in A.D. 525, and again in A.D. 529, to the effect that the number of grades rose to twenty-eight, while the number of designations for Generals remained at one hundred and twenty-five, and the status of military ranks for foreign lands changed from regular to special grades.⁹⁴

The following table lists the official titles with Rank 1 awarded during the Liang:⁹⁵

Office	In Chinese	Grade (<i>pan</i>)	Rank (<i>p'in</i>) equiv.
Chancellor	<i>ch'eng-hsiang</i>	18	1a
Grand Steward	<i>t'ai-tsai</i>	18	1a
Grand Mentor	<i>t'ai-fu</i>	18	1a
Grand Guardian	<i>t'ai-pao</i>	18	1a
Commander-in-chief	<i>ta ssu-ma</i>	18	1a
General-in-chief	<i>ta Chiang-chün</i>	18	1a
Defender-in-chief	<i>t'ai-wei</i>	18	1a
Minister of Education	<i>ssu-t'u</i>	18	1a
Minister of Works	<i>ssu-k'ung</i>	18	1a
Generals-Commanders	<i>chu Chiang-chün k'ai-</i>		
Unequaled in Honor	<i>fu i-t'ung san-ssu</i>	17	1b
Left & Right Commanders-	<i>tso-yu Kuang-lu k'ai-</i>		
Masters of Splendid Happiness	<i>fu i-t'ung san-ssu</i>		
Unequaled in Honor		17	1b

Arbiters

There were twenty-eight recorded appointments to the office of Arbiter under the Liang. Below is a list of the individuals who held the posts: their choronyms, highest official ranks, and the highest ranks held by their fathers.

⁹⁴ *Sui shu*, ch. 26, pp. 736-741.

⁹⁵ I have adopted David Johnson's view of the correspondence between the Liang grades and earlier ranks. In comparing Liang grades with Liu Sung ranks, he uses a "straight conversion" method and arrives at the following table:

Liang	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Sung	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9	

For his criticism of Miyazaki's approach see Johnson, *Medieval Oligarchy*, p. 97, Note #29.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Choronym</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Father's Rank</u>	<u>Source</u>
Chang Chi	Wu-chün	3	2	LS 16/270
Cheng Shao-shu	Hsing-yang	3	—	LS 11/208
Chiang Ko	Chi-yang	2	(uncle 5)	LS 36/522
Ch'iu Ch'ih	Wu-hsing	5	5	LS 49/687
Chou She	Ju-nan	3	5	LS 25/375
Fan Hsiu	Chi-yang	3	—	LS 26/391
Fu Chao	Pei-ti	3	4	LS 26/392
Ho Ching-jung	Lu-chiang	2	3	LS 37/531
Ho T'ung-chih	Lu-chiang	5	—	LS 48/663
Hsia-hou Tan	Ch'iao-kuo	3	3	LS 28/418
Hsiao Ch'en	Lan-ling	2	5	LS 26/396
Hsiao Tzu-yün	Lan-ling	4	Prince	LS 35/513
Hsü Mien	Pei-hai	2	5	LS 25/377
Liu Ch'ing-yüan	Ho-tung	3	(uncle 3)	LS 9/182
Liu Chih-lin	Nan-yang	3	—	LS 40/572
Lu Ch'ui	Wu-chün	5	3	LS 27/401
Lu Hsiang	Wu-chün	3	5	LS 27/409
Lu Kao	Wu-chün	2	—	LS 26/398
Ming Shan-pin	P'ing-yüan	4	—	LS 27/405
Shen Chung	Wu-hsing	3	5	CHS 18/243
Shen Yüeh	Wu-hsing	2	5	LS 13/232
Wang Ch'ung	Lang-ya	1	5	CHS 17/235
Wang Fen	Lang-ya	2	5	LS 21/324
Yü Ch'ien-lou	Hsin-yeh	3	—	LS 47/650
Yü Yin-wu	Hsin-yeh	3	—	LS 49/690
Yü Yü-ling	Hsin-yeh	5	—	LS 49/689
Yüan Ang	Ch'en-chün	1	3	LS 31/451
Yüeh Ai	Nan-yang	3	—	LS 19/302

Of the twenty-eight appointees to the office of Arbiter under the Liang, two held an office with Rank 1; seven held offices with Rank 2; thirteen held offices with Rank 3; two held an office with Rank 4, and four held offices with Rank 5. A little over one third of the Arbiters held middle-level offices in the central government. Most of the ten higher-level appointees belonged to well-established bureaucratic clans.⁹⁶

Fourteen of the posts (exactly 50%) were held by individuals whose clans produced more than one Arbiter during the Liang period. The Lu clan from Wu-chün

⁹⁶ The only exception was Hsü Mien from Pei-hai. He held an office with Rank 2, while his father and grandfather both held offices with Rank 5. Prior to them, no other ancestors are known. LS 25/377.

and the Yü clan from Hsin-yeh secured three appointments each for their clan members. Four clans managed to secure two appointments each: the Hos from Lu-chiang, the Hsiao from Lan-ling, the Shens from Wu-hsing, and the Wangs from Lang-ya. With the exception of the Hsin-yeh Yüs, these clans were all old and well established: the Hos first emerged under the Chin, the Hsiao during the Liu Sung, the Lus during the Later Han, the Shens and the Wangs under the Chin.⁹⁷

Ten of the remaining fourteen posts were distributed among members of other prominent bureaucratic clans, with one appointee per clan: the Changs from Wu-chün (who emerged on the national level during the Liu Sung dynasty),⁹⁸ the Chengs from Hsing-yang (an old Later Han clan), the Chiangs from Chi-yang (who emerged during the Liu Sung dynasty), the Chous from Ju-nan (who emerged during the Southern Ch'i),⁹⁹ the Fus from Pei-ti (an old Later Han clan), the Hsia-hous from Ch'iao-kuo (who emerged during the Three Kingdoms period),¹⁰⁰ the Lius from Ho-tung (who emerged during the Southern Ch'i), the Lius from Nan-yang (who emerged during the Chin),¹⁰¹ the Mings from P'ing-yüan (who emerged during the Southern Ch'i), and the Yüans from Ch'en-chün (who emerged during the Three Kingdoms period).

Only the remaining four Arbiter offices were held by newcomers to officialdom.¹⁰² The fathers of two of them held offices with Rank 2, while the other two held no office at all. Their clans never played an important role.¹⁰³

Under the Liang, only seven out of twenty-eight Arbiters, or exactly 25% of them, did not belong to old, well-established bureaucratic clans.

The following chart illustrates the origins of the clans of all Arbiters during the Liang period:

⁹⁷ The Hsin-yeh Yüs are present in the sources in a significant number only during the Liang dynasty. One Yü Kao-chih from Hsin-yeh held an office of Arbiter under the Southern Ch'i, but none of the three Liang Arbiters claim a relationship with him. The three Arbiter appointments attest to their status at this time. Not having outlasted one dynasty, however, they can not be considered a great mediaeval clan.

⁹⁸ Some Wu-chün Changs are first mentioned in the *Chin shu*, but the clan only attained national prominence during the Liu Sung, and retained a level of prestige in the South for the remainder of the early medieval period.

⁹⁹ Some Ju-nan Chous were first mentioned in the *Chin shu*, and the *Sung shu*, but direct family ties of the people mentioned cannot be established. The clan attained national prominence under the Southern Ch'i, and retained it for the remainder of the early medieval period.

¹⁰⁰ Their prestige continued through the Chin, but decreased thereafter. Some clan members are mentioned in the Northern Wei sources and the Liang sources. WS 71/1580; LS 10/190, LS 28/418, LS 28/420.

¹⁰¹ In fact, some Nan-yang Lius were already mentioned in the *Hou-han shu*. Members of the clan have received biographies in dynastic sources for all the Southern dynasties, although in some cases direct family ties cannot be established, and the family tree cannot be drawn.

¹⁰² These newcomers belonged to the clans of Ch'ius from Wu-hsing, the Fans from Chi-yang, the Hsüs from Pei-hai, and the Yüehs from Nan-yang.

¹⁰³ Ch'iu Ch'ih's father held an office with Rank 5, and some other Ch'ius from Wu-hsing were mentioned in the *Sung shu*, the *Nan-ch'i shu*, and the *Liang shu*, but direct family ties between the individuals mentioned cannot be established. We may therefore conclude that the Chius belonged to the educated elite who may have played an important role locally, but did not play a dominant role in the national politics of early medieval China. Fan Hsiu from Chi-yang was the only member from his clan to have held an office recorded in dynastic sources for the same period. Hsü Mien's father held an office with Rank 5, but no other office-holders from the clan are mentioned in the sources. Yüeh Ai was the only member from his clan whose office is recorded in dynastic sources.

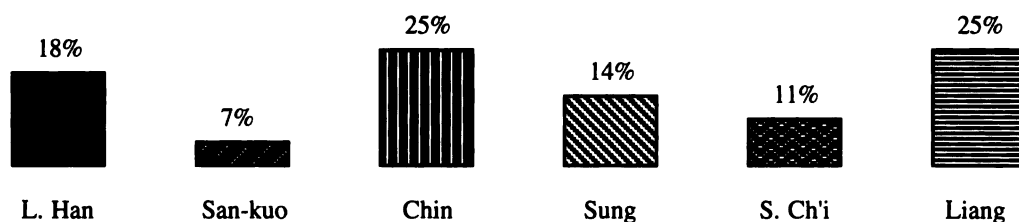


Chart 5a: Origins of clans of Liang Arbiters

The ratio of old bureaucratic clans among those who held Arbiter posts under Liang rule is even higher than it had been under the preceding Southern Ch'i dynasty (when it was 68%), and the Liu Sung dynasty (when it was 58%). It should be noted, however, that the origins of the established clans are spread more evenly among the earlier dynasties, although the highest number still belonged to clans that had first gained prominence during Chin dynasty.

Offices with Rank 1

The award of ten civilian and ten military official posts with Rank 1 is recorded for the Liang dynasty. Below are lists of all the individuals who held them. Civilian and military posts are listed separately, indicating the choronym for each individual, and the highest official titles held by his father and grandfather.

Civilian posts with Rank 1

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Chou Wen-yü	I-hsing	—	—	CHS 8/137
Hou An-tu ¹⁰⁴	Shih-hsing	3	—	CHS 8/143
Hou Chen ¹⁰⁵	Pa-hsi	5	—	CHS 9/153
Hsieh Fei	Ch'en-chün	3	3	LS 15/261
Wang Ch'ung	Lang-ya	5	3	CHS 17/235
Wang Ying	Lang-ya	3	(uncle 3)	LS 16/273
Wang Mou	T'ai-yüan	5	—	LS 9/175
Wang Seng-pien	T'ai-yüan	4	—	LS 45/623
Yüan Ang	Ch'en-chün	3	3	LS 31/451
Yüan Fa-seng	Tai-chün	Prince	Prince	LS 39/553

¹⁰⁴ Hou An-tu held the highest posts with Rank 1 under both the Liang and the Ch'en. CHS 8/143.

¹⁰⁵ Hou Chen held the highest posts with Rank 1 under both the Liang and the Ch'en. CHS 9/153.

Military posts with Rank 1

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Chou Wen-yü	I-hsing	—	—	CHS 8/137
Hou An-tu	Shih-hsing	3	—	CHS 8/143
Hou Chen	Pa-hsi	5	—	CHS 9/153
Hou Ching	Shuo-fang ¹⁰⁶	—	—	LS 56/833
Hu Seng-yu	Nan-yang	—	—	LS 46/639
Wang Lin	K'uai-chi	low	—	PCS 32/431
Wang Mou	T'ai-yüan	5	—	LS 9/175
Wang Seng-pien	T'ai-yüan	4	—	LS 45/623
Yüan Ang	Ch'en-chün	3	3	LS 31/451
Yüan Fa-seng	Tai-chün	Prince	Prince	LS 3 9/553

Seven individuals held both civilian and military titles of the highest rank. This is a much lower number than had been the case under the previous dynasties, where all holders of military titles with Rank 1 also held civilian titles with Rank 1. It can be, perhaps, partly attributed to the fact that the title of Commander Unequaled in Honor (*k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu*) now came in two variants, attached to either military or civilian titles, to form new titles with lengthy names: various Generals-Commanders Unequaled in Honor (*chu Chiang-chün k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu*) and Left and Right Commanders-Masters of Splendid Happiness Unequaled in Honor (*tso-yu kuang-lu k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu*).¹⁰⁷

Only two clans held two civilian offices with Rank 1 during the Liang rule: the Wangs from Lang-ya, and the Wangs from T'ai-yüan. The two members of the T'ai-yüan Wangs who held civilian offices with Rank 1, also held military offices with the same rank. No other clan held more than one military office of the highest rank.

At the first glance it appears that seven of the ten civilian posts with Rank 1 were held by members of the old, well-established bureaucratic elite. Yet, upon closer examination, this number becomes greatly reduced. First, if we examine the case of the two T'ai-yüan Wangs, we discover that they are not directly related, and that they belong to the T'ai-yüan Wangs from the Ch'i district. It was the T'ai-yüan Wangs from the Chin-yang district that played an immensely important role during the Chin dynasty, and that were well known as an old Later Han clan. They completely disappeared from the national stage after the Chin. The T'ai-yüan Wangs from the Ch'i district also produced an important official under the Later Han dynasty, and his sons still played a role in the politics of the Three Kingdoms period, but the clan completely disappeared from the Chin political scene. Some of their

¹⁰⁶ Hou Ching instigated a rebellion in the South. He held a military post with Rank 1 under the Liang. The T'o-pa Wei awarded him a post of Minister of Education with Rank 1. His choronym is alternatively given as Yen-men. LS 56/833.

¹⁰⁷ For the two titles see the table above. Both carried the equivalent of Rank 1b. Our translation "Commander" for "*k'ai-fu*," following Hucker, *A Dictionary*, pp. 274-275, entry #3103, may be misleading when it comes to the civilian title.

members re-emerged under the Liu Sung dynasty, and Wang Mou, who held offices with Rank 1 under the Southern Ch'i regime, is their descendant. Of the two T'ai-yüan Wangs, therefore, only one can be connected to the established clan.

In addition, there is the case of Chou Wen-yü from I-hsing. Chou Wen-yü original name was Hsiang Meng-nu and he lived in the Shou-ch'ang district of the Hsin-an commandery. One Chou Hui from I-hsing noticed him on account of his extraordinary physical ability, and adopted him because his family was poor, giving him the new name. The Chou clan from I-hsing had been well known during the Three Kingdoms period and the Chin, but it did not play an important role after that time. Hui himself held low clerical positions, and the titles of his ancestors are not known. Chou Wen-yü, therefore, cannot be considered a member of the well-established elite.

In sum, only five of the ten civilian posts with Rank 1 (50%) went to the established bureaucratic elite.

After discarding Chou Wen-yü and Wang Seng-pien, for the reasons stated above, we are still left with a much lower proportion of military posts with Rank 1 held by the members of old clans — two out of ten, or only 20%.

Below are two charts that illustrate the origins of the clans of all the individuals who held offices with Rank 1 during the Liang period:

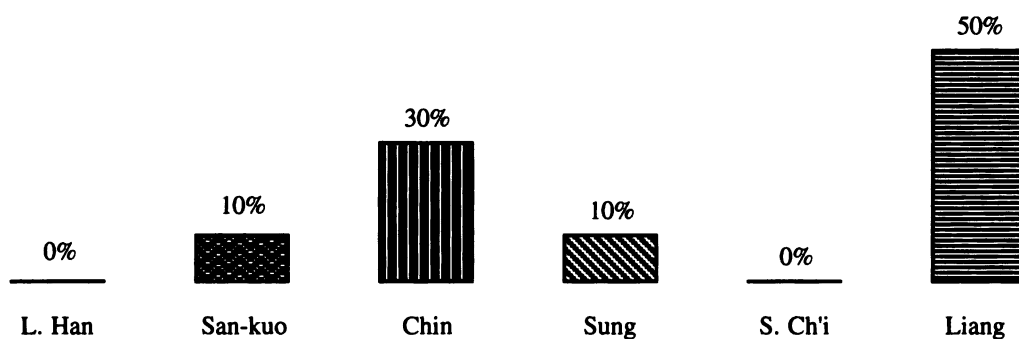


Chart 5b: Origins of clans of civilian office-holders with Rank 1

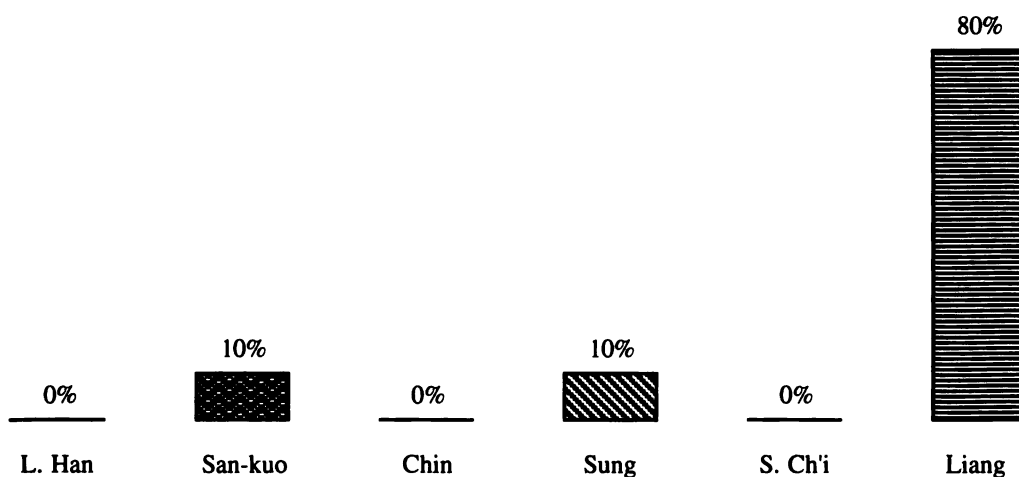


Chart 5c: Origins of clans of military office-holders with Rank 1

Obviously, the proportion of new clans among office-holders with Rank 1 was much higher under Liang rule than under any of the Southern dynasties, and even higher than under the Chin in terms of military posts. This stands in striking contrast to the proportion of new clans among Arbiter office-holders, which at 25% was the lowest for the entire early medieval period heretofore. There appears to have been no correlation between the backgrounds of the occupants of the two types of posts.

Only two Liang Arbiters also held offices with Rank 1, as the following list shows:

Individuals who held military or civilian posts with Rank 1 and the office of the Arbiter

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Wang Ch'ung	Lang-ya	5	3	CHS 17/235
Yüan Ang	Ch'en-chün	3	3	LS 31/451

They were both members of old bureaucratic clans. The Lang-ya Wangs, prominent since the Chin dynasty, and the Ch'en-chün Yüans, prominent since the Three Kingdoms period, keep appearing, dynasty after dynasty. The Lang-ya Wangs had one more Arbiter appointment in addition to Wang Ch'ung's.

But no other clan that held an Arbiter post under the Liang managed to procure an official post with Rank 1 for its members. Obviously, holding the office of local arbitration was not a sure way to gain control of the highest levels of state bureaucracy. We have to conclude that monopolization of the state bureaucracy was not the rule under the Liang, and that the Lang-ya Wangs, and perhaps the Ch'en-chün Yüans, were exceptions.

CH'EN

Ch'en rulers took over the Liang bureaucracy, but added the office of Chancellor-in-chief (*hsiang-kuo*), and ranked it above the office of Chancellor (*ch'eng-hsiang*). These two offices, along with those of Grand Steward (*t'ai-tsai*), Grand Mentor (*t'ai-fu*), Grand Guardian (*t'ai-pao*), Commander-in-chief (*ta ssu-ma*) and General-in-chief (*ta Chiang-chün*) were turned into honorific titles conferred posthumously. The rest of the titles were divided into eighteen grades, following the Liang system.

There were two types of offices: "pure" (*ch'ing*) and "impure" (*cho*).¹⁰⁸ Offices above Grade 12 were conferred by Imperial decrees and proclaimed by memorials.

¹⁰⁸ Hucker (*Dictionary*, entries #1254 and #1330 on p. 173 and p. 178) claims that terms "*ch'ing*" (Pure) and "*cho*" (Impure) came into use soon after the fall of [Later] Han, as at least quasi-official designations for officials of esteemed and lesser genealogical distinction, to determine which official positions were available to them. This is the first reference to the practice I have encountered in the sources. *Sui shu*, ch. 26, p. 741.

They were not suitable for people without noble titles (*hsing*). Offices between Grade 11 and Grade 9 were accorded the first degree of ceremony.¹⁰⁹ There were also seven *liu-wai* grades. These were taken by "poor" *shih*. From these grades one entered into the first grade (the lowest grade) of the regular bureaucracy.

For the first time, entry into the state bureaucracy was prescribed for the royal family. The Imperial Princes (*ch'in-wang*, i.e. all sons of the reigning Emperor other than the Heir Apparent) entered the bureaucracy as Palace Attendants. If this civilian post was combined with that of a General, the Imperial Princes would have Administrators, but without the military post they would have no staff (*wang-fu*, i.e. Princely Establishment), and would depend solely on their position in the state administration. The Heir Apparent's eldest son by the first wife was enfeoffed as Prince, and his state position was equivalent to that of other Princes. The Heir Apparent's other sons were enfeoffed as Dukes, and first served in the state administration as Attendant Gentlemen (*chung-shu lang*). All sons of Princes, and the inheriting sons of Dukes received posts as Executive Assistants (*chi-shih*).¹¹⁰

Entry level official posts were also prescribed for the sons of the highest state officials. Sons of the Three Dukes (*san-kung*) entered state service as Supernumerary Cavalier Attendants-in-ordinary (*yüan-wai san-chi ch'ang-shih*). Sons of Royal Coachmen (*p'u*) received first appointments as Assistants in the Palace Library (*pi-shu lang*). If all positions in the Palace Library were filled, they could also be appointed to the Legal Section or Revenue Section of Princely Establishments (*fa, pan ts'ao*), with the hope of eventually ending up in the Palace Library. They were also given as first positions the offices of Editorial Assistants (*chu-tso tso-lang*) or Acting Administrators for Revenue (*pan hsing ts'an-chün*), the latter being a position in a Princely Establishment.¹¹¹

Several other offices were used as career-launching first appointment posts: Assistant Magistrate of Yang-chou (*Yang-chou chu-po*), Erudite of the National University (*t'ai-hsüeh po-shih*), Attendant Gentleman in a Princedom (*wang-kuo shih-lang*), Audience Attendant (*feng ch'ao-ch'ing*), and Acting Administrator of the Prince Presumptive (*ssu-wang hsing ts'an-chün*). None of them were mandated conjointly. All posts of Aides and Administrators of Princedoms and Dukedoms were both "pure" and "impure." Either they were used by elected officials to fill a vacancy [in their appointments], or they were filled by official dispatch from the establishments. They were not governed by time restrictions, and could be kept or left at will.¹¹²

Although the Ch'en inherited the Liang division of offices into grades, it also classified them according to rank. Both civilian and military offices were ranked from 1 to 9, making comparison with previous bureaucracies of the early medieval period convenient.

The following table lists the offices with Rank 1 awarded by the Ch'en:

¹⁰⁹ "Li shu fu wei i-teng."

¹¹⁰ *Sui shu*, ch. 26, p.741.

¹¹¹ Ibid. For the description of these posts see relevant entries in Hucker, *A Dictionary*.

¹¹² Ibid.

Office	In Chinese	Rank
Chancellor-in-chief	<i>hsiang-kuo</i>	1
Chancellor	<i>ch'eng-hsiang</i>	1
Grand Steward	<i>t'ai-tsai</i>	1
Grand Mentor	<i>t'ai-fu</i>	1
Grand Guardian	<i>t'ai-pao</i>	1
Commander-in-chief	<i>ta ssu-ma</i>	1
General-in-chief	<i>ta Chiang-chün</i>	1
Defender-in-chief	<i>t'ai-wei</i>	1
Minister of Education	<i>ssu-t'u</i>	1
Minister of Works	<i>ssu-k'ung</i>	1
Commander Unequaled in Honor	<i>k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu</i>	1
Director of the Department of State Affairs	<i>shang-shu ling</i>	1

Arbiters

There were seventeen recorded appointments to the office of Arbiter under the Ch'en. Below is a list of the individuals who held the posts: their choronyms, highest official ranks, and the highest ranks held by their fathers.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Choronym</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Father's Rank</u>	<u>Source</u>
Chang Chung	Wu-chün	3	5	CHS 21/280
Chiang Tsung	Chi-yang	1	—	CHS 27/343
Chou Hung-cheng	Ju-nan	2	(uncle 3)	CHS 24/305
Hsieh Che	Ch'en-chün	3	3	CHS 21/277
Hsieh Chia	Ch'en-chün	3	2	CHS 21/279
Hsü Ling	Tung-hai	2	5	CHS 26/325
K'ung Huan	K'uai-chi	3	—	CHS 21/283
Lu Ch'ung	Wu-chün	2	5	CHS 30/396
Lu Shan	Wu-chün	2	4	CHS 23/302
Shen Chu	Wu-hsing	4	5	CHS 33/436
Ssu-ma Hao	Ho-nei	3	5	CHS 32/429
Tsung Yüan-jao	Nan-chün	3	—	CHS 29/385
Wang Ku	Lang-ya	3	4	CHS 21/282
Wang T'ung	Lang-ya	2	4	CHS 17/237
Yü Li	K'uai-chi	4	5	CHS 19/256
Yüan Ching	Ch'en-chün	2	1	CHS 17/239
Yüan Pi	Ch'en-chün	3	1	CHS 18/244

Of the seventeen recorded appointees to the office of Arbiter under the Ch'en, only one held an office with Rank 1; six held offices with Rank 2; eight held offices with Rank 3; two held offices with Rank 4; and none held offices with Rank 5. Half of the Arbiters held middle-level offices in the central bureaucracy, but only two (11.11%) held an office below Rank 3. Arbiters under the Ch'en held relatively high offices compared to those under other early medieval dynasties.

The highest number of appointments to the office of Arbiter that any clan managed to secure for its members under the Ch'en was two. Four clans in all received two Arbiter posts each: the Hsiehs from Ch'en-chün, the Lus from Wu-chün, the Wangs from Lang-ya, and the Yüans from Ch'en-chün. All three clans belonged to the well-established bureaucratic elite: the Hsiehs and the Wangs came to national prominence under the Chin, the Lus were an old Later Han clan, and the Yüans traced their high status to the Three Kingdoms period.

Eight of the remaining nine posts were distributed among members of other prominent clans of the time, with one appointee per clan: the Changs from Wu-chün (who emerged during the Liu Sung dynasty),¹¹³ the Chiangs from Chi-yang (who emerged during the Liu Sung dynasty),¹¹⁴ the Chous from Ju-nan (who emerged during the Southern Ch'i),¹¹⁵ the Hsüs from Tung-hai (who emerged during the Chin), the K'ungs from K'uai-chi (who emerged during the Chin),¹¹⁶ the Shens from Wu-hsing (who emerged during the Chin), the Ssu-mas from Ho-nei,¹¹⁷ and the Yüs from K'uai-chi (who emerged during the Three Kingdoms period).¹¹⁸

Only one of the seventeen appointees to the office of the Arbiter under the Ch'en did not belong to the established bureaucratic elite. Tsung Yüan-jao's clan from Nan-chün was not mentioned in the sources prior to Ch'en dynasty. Yüan-jao's father did not even hold office.

This means that under the Ch'en less than 6% of all recorded Arbiter appointments went to people outside the narrow circle of the established bureaucratic elite.

The following chart illustrates the origins of the clans of all Arbiters during the Ch'en period:

¹¹³ Some Changs were already mentioned in the *Chin shu*, but the clan first attained national prominence during the Liu Sung, retaining a level of prestige in the South for the remainder of the early medieval period.

¹¹⁴ The Chiangs came into prominence under the Liu Sung, and retained their status through the remainder of the Southern Dynasties. Some Chiangs were even well known under the T'o-pa Wei and Northern Ch'i, but their direct family connections cannot be established.

¹¹⁵ The Chous were first mentioned in the *Chin shu*, and the *Sung shu*, but direct family ties of the people mentioned cannot be established. They emerged as a nationally prominent clan under the Southern Ch'i. Their prestige remained untouched for the remainder of the early medieval period.

¹¹⁶ The K'ung's emerged as a nationally prominent clan under the Chin, and retained their prestige to some degree for the remainder of the early medieval period. During the Southern Ch'i and the Liang direct family ties of individuals mentioned in the sources cannot be established.

¹¹⁷ The Ssu-mas were the Chin imperial clan. They retained relatively high social status under the Northern Dynasties, and some clan members have biographies in the *Liang shu* and the *Ch'en shu*, but direct family ties between individuals mentioned in these sources cannot be established. At this time, the Ssu-mas were perhaps more a locally prominent clan.

¹¹⁸ The Yüs were an old clan whose prestige dates back to the Three Kingdoms period, but they retained it only under the Chin. Their members are not again mentioned in the sources until the Ch'en.

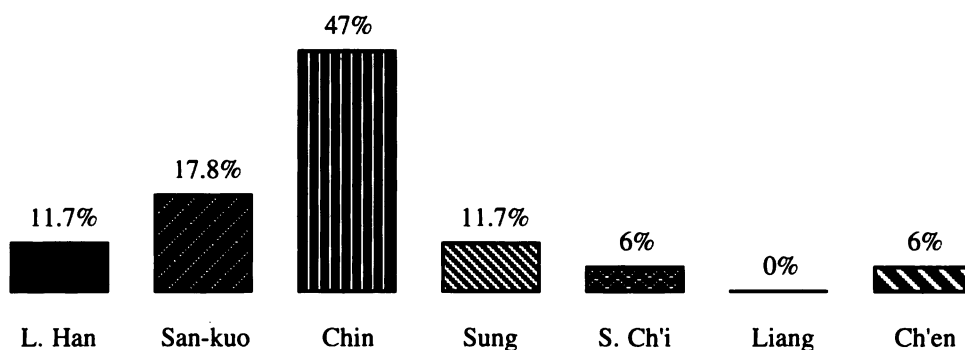


Chart 6a: Origins of clans of Ch'en Arbiters

The ratio of old bureaucratic clans among those who held Arbiter posts under Ch'en dynasty is even higher than under the preceding Southern dynasties. By this time it was practically impossible to hold this office without a substantial pedigree. It should also be noted that almost half of all Ch'en Arbiters belonged to clans that had emerged on the political scene during Chin dynasty.

Offices with Rank 1

The award of twelve civilian and eleven military official posts with Rank 1 was recorded for the Ch'en dynasty. Below are lists of all the individuals who held them. Civilian and military posts are listed separately, indicating the choronym for each individual, and the highest official titles held by his father and grandfather.

Civilian posts with Rank 1

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Chang Chao-ta	Wu-hsing	—	5	CHS 11/181
Chiang Tsung	Chi-yang	—	3	CHS 27/343
Chou Ti	Lin-ch'uan	—	—	CHS 35/478
Ch'un-yü Liang	Chi-pei	3	—	CHS 11/179
Hou An-tu	Shih-hsing	3	—	CHS 8/143
Hou Chen ¹¹⁹	Pa-hsi	5	—	CHS 9/153
Hsiao Mo-ho ¹²⁰	Lan-ling	5	3	CHS 31/409

¹¹⁹ Hou Chen held the highest posts with Rank 1 under both the Liang and the Ch'en.

¹²⁰ The title was conferred by the last ruler of the Ch'en in a very peculiar way. The Ch'en history says: "Of old, the owl and tiger ornaments were placed on the roofs of yellow halls where the Three Dukes gave audiences. The Last Ruler especially extended the favor to Mo-ho to establish a yellow hall, where he was allowed to enter on his horse, and the roof ornaments were placed on both the audience hall and his private apartments. He then took his daughter for the principal wife of the Heir Apparent." CHS 31/411, lines 10-11.

Hsiung T'an-lang	Yü-chang	—	—	CHS 35/477
Hsü Tu	An-lu	—	—	CHS 12/188
Huang Fa-ch'ü	Pa-shan	—	—	CHS 11/177
Ou-yang Wei	Ch'ang-sha	5	—	CHS 9/157
Wu Ming-ch'e	Ch'in-chün	3	5	CHS 9/160

Military posts with Rank 1

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Chang Chao-ta	Wu-hsing	—	5	CHS 11/181
Chou Ti	Lin-ch'uan	—	—	CHS 35/478
Ch'un-yü Liang	Chi-pei	3	—	CHS 11/179
Hou An-tu	Shih-hsing	3	—	CHS 8/143
Hou Chen	Pa-hsi	5	—	CHS 9/153
Hsiao Mo-ho	Lan-ling	5	3	CHS 31/409
Hsiung T'an-lang	Yü-chang	—	—	CHS 35/477
Hsü Tu	An-lu	—	—	CHS 12/188
Huang Fa-ch'ü	Pa-shan	—	—	CHS 11/177
Ou-yang Wei	Ch'ang-sha	5	—	CHS 9/157
Wu Ming-ch'e	Ch'in-chün	3	5	CHS 9/160

All of the eleven individuals who held military posts with Rank 1 also held civilian titles of the highest rank. This, again, is largely due to the title of Commander Unequalled in Honor (*k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu*), which under the Ch'en again combined military and civilian duties. Yet, it should be recalled that even before the institution of this title, military office-holders with Rank 1 usually held civilian offices of that rank as well. The one man to hold only a civilian title with Rank 1 was Chiang Tsung, who was Director of the Department of State Affairs (*shang-shu ling*). This title acquired Rank 1 for the first time under the Ch'en.

It is interesting to note that no clan under the Ch'en held more than one official post with Rank 1. Although we have already noted that the monopolization of highest official posts by certain clans was more of an exception than a rule, this is even more true for the Ch'en dynasty. Only one of the eleven military titles with Rank 1 awarded by the Ch'en went to a member of a well established bureaucratic clan. This was Hsiao Mo-ho of Lan-ling, whose clan was the Liang imperial clan. Hsiao Mo-ho was joined by Chiang Tsung from Chi-yang as a civilian title holder with Rank 1 who belonged to an old bureaucratic clan. Both clans first gained prominence under the Liu Sung dynasty.

So, two out of twelve, or less than 17% of all civilian posts with Rank 1, went to old bureaucratic clans under the Ch'en. The ratio for military posts was one in eleven, or 9%.

Below are two charts that illustrate the origins of the clans of all the individuals who held offices with Rank 1 during the Ch'en period:

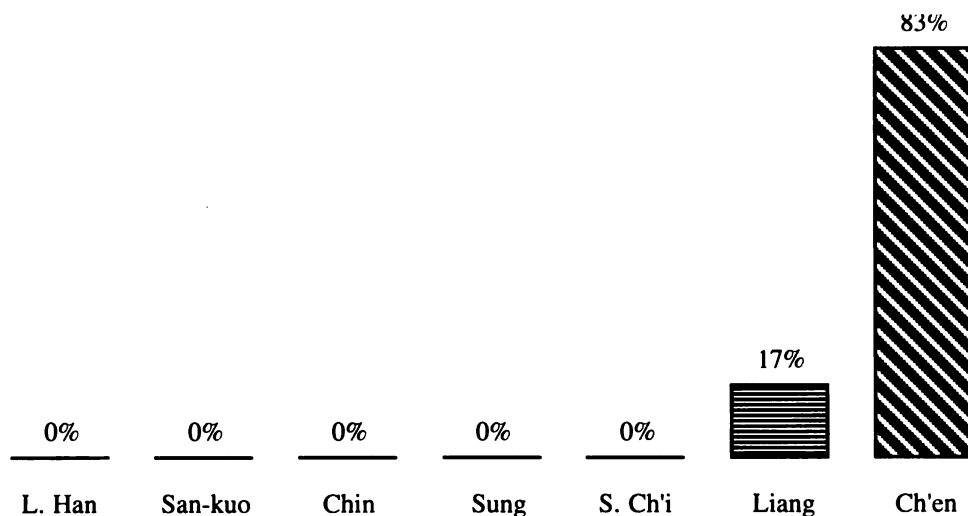


Chart 6b: Origins of clans of civilian office-holders with Rank 1

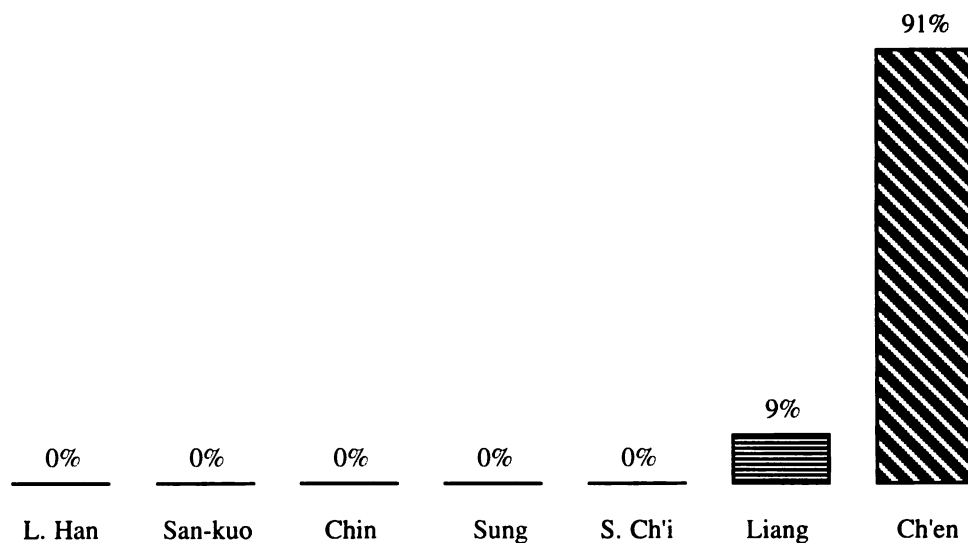


Chart 6c: Origins of clans of military office-holders with Rank 1

The proportion of new clans among office-holders with Rank 1 was much higher under the Ch'en than under any other Southern dynasty, and even higher than under the Three Kingdoms and the Chin. This stands in complete contrast to the proportion of new clans among the Ch'en Arbiter office-holders which, at 6%, was the lowest for the entire early medieval period. There was obviously no correlation between the backgrounds of the occupants of the two types of posts.

During the Ch'en dynasty, only one clan managed to have one of its members appointed to both an office with the highest rank, and to an office of Arbiter. This was the Chiang clan from Chi-yang, which became prominent during the Liu Sung dynasty. Only one of their members, Chiang Tsung, held both a civilian office with Rank 1 and an office of Arbiter.

Individuals who held military or civilian posts with Rank 1 and the office of the Arbiter

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Chiang Tsung	Chi-yang	—	3	CHS 27/343

Only one of the seventeen appointees to the office of Arbiter managed to gain an office with Rank 1 for his clan, or, in this case, for himself. There is no doubt that under Ch'en rule holding Arbiter posts had no impact on the highest levels of the state bureaucracy. And, very obviously, the top echelon of the Ch'en bureaucracy was not recruited from an old, entrenched elite.

T'O-PA WEI

Although the T'o-pas introduced a variety of Chin official posts even before the establishment of the Wei state in A.D. 386, they ruled according to tribal customs, by appointing Tribal Overseers (*ta-jen*) to the Southern and Northern branches of their tribe. It was in A.D. 396 that the T'o-pas first started creating central and local bureaucracies and gradations of nobility, and in A.D. 398 the Emperor ordered the codification of the bureaucracy and the establishment of noble titles and ranks.¹²¹ The process went on for years, with frequent changes that increasingly drew the traditional T'o-pa elite into the Chinese-style bureaucratic fold. Yet for years the system retained several unique features.

In A.D. 404 six categories of "visitation-offices" (*yeh-kuan*) were established to determine which officials had the right of audience with the Emperor. A month later the state codified Prestige Titles (*san-kuan*), which had no relation to a man's functional activity, but were awarded to fix his status. The Prestige Titles gave status to officials who were not serving on active duty, and may have been the basis on which official salaries were paid.¹²²

¹²¹ *Wei shu*, ch. 113, pp. 2971-2972.

¹²² *Wei shu*, ch. 113, p. 2973. The *Wei shu* makes no mention of salaries. For the history of Prestige Titles see Hucker, *A Dictionary*, pp. 398-399, entry #4868.

The T'o-pas created Five Ranks of Prestige, placing them below the four Noble Titles.¹²³ The status of Prestige Rank 5 was comparable to that of the Three Commanders-in-chief (*san tu-wei*); Prestige Rank 6 to the official post of Court Gentleman for Consultation (*i-lang*); Prestige Rank 7 to Three Superior Grand Masters: of the Palace (*t'ai-chung ta-fu*), of Palace Leisure (*chung-san ta-fu*), and of Remonstrance (*chien-i ta-fu*); Prestige Rank 8 to a Bureau Director (*lang-chung*); and Prestige Rank 9 to Secretary (*she-jen*). Below the five ranks of civilian offices, all people of outstanding talent, collectively called "the [self-]made scholar-officials" (*tsao-shih*), were also divided into 5 ranks. Below the five ranks of military offices, all those fit for the office of General or Commander, were also divided into five ranks. Vacancies in the bureaucracy were filled from among them.¹²⁴

Other curiosities of the T'o-pa bureaucracy were the offices of Eight Tribal Overseers (*pa ta-jen kuan*),¹²⁵ established in A.D. 414, and the Six Ministries, established in A.D. 417: Ministry of Heaven (*t'ien-pu*), Ministry of Earth (*ti-pu*), Ministry of the East (*tung-pu*), Ministry of the West (*hsi-pu*), Ministry of the South (*nan-pu*), and Ministry of the North (*pei-pu*).

By the reign of Emperor Kao-tsu the offices had changed in name, number and rank so many times that he ordered them fixed, which occurred sometime during the *T'ai-ho* Era (A.D. 477-499). They were divided into nine ranks with Rank 1 the highest, very much like those of the Chin, but there were three subdivisions within each rank: Upper (*shang*), Middle (*chung*), and Lower (*hsia*). In A.D. 499 Emperor Kao-tsu reordered the official ranks once again, but he died before his orders were put in practice. His successor, Emperor Shih-tsung, put the new system in use and made it permanent.

According to the A.D. 499 system, offices were divided into nine ranks, with Rank 1 the highest, and with each rank subdivided into two categories: the Full Rank (*cheng-p'in*), and the Lower Rank (*ts'ung-p'in*).¹²⁶ They will be distinguished as Ranks 1a and 1b in the following table.

The following table lists the offices with Rank 1 awarded by the T'o-pa Wei:

Office	In Chinese	Rank
Grand Preceptor	<i>t'ai-shih</i>	1a
Grand Mentor	<i>t'ai-fu</i>	1a
Grand Guardian	<i>t'ai-pao</i>	1a

¹²³ The noble titles are dealt with in a separate chapter. The T'o-pa Wei reduced the number of noble ranks to four: Prince, Duke, Marquis and Viscount, by abolishing the titles of Earl and Baron. *Wei shu*, ch. 113, p. 2973.

¹²⁴ Ibid. The text leaves unclear whether the vacancies were filled from the five ranks of the "talented" and the "capable" only, or whether the Prestige Title holders, not receiving any office automatically, represented the pool of potential office-holders as well. The latter possibility seems more likely.

¹²⁵ For the evolution of the office see Hucker, *A Dictionary*, p.360, entry #4379; also *Wei shu*, ch. 113, pp. 2974-2975.

¹²⁶ Hucker calls them Upper Class (*cheng-p'in*), and Lower Class (*ts'ung-p'in*). *A Dictionary*, p. 535, entry #7168. I find this terminology inappropriate, since both the *cheng-p'in* and *ts'ung-p'in* of all ranks below Rank 3b were further subdivided into Upper Class (*shang-chieh*) and Lower Class (*hsia-chieh*), which Hucker also calls "class" (Ibid., p. 143, entry #754).

Commander-in-chief	<i>ta ssu-ma</i>	1a
General-in-chief	<i>ta chiang-chün</i>	1a
Defender-in-chief	<i>t'ai-wei</i>	1a
Minister of Education	<i>ssu-t'u</i>	1a
Minister of Works	<i>ssu-k'ung</i>	1a
Unequaled in Honor	<i>i-t'ung san-ssu</i>	1b
Commander-in-chief for all Military Affairs in and out of the Capital	<i>tu-tu chung-wai chu chün- shih</i>	1b
Cavalry General-in-chief	<i>p'iao-chi ta chiang-chün</i>	1b
Chariot and Horse General-in-chief	<i>ch'e-chi ta chiang-chün</i>	1b
Area Commander	<i>k'ai-fu</i>	1b
General-in-chief of the Guards	<i>wei ta chiang-chün</i>	1b
Generals-in-chief Who Attack the Four Directions	<i>ssu-cheng ta chiang-chün</i>	1b

Some offices under the T'o-pas were clearly awarded on the basis of family status, and had nothing to do with an individual's capability, qualifications, or previous performance. Erh-chu P'u-t'i, Prince of T'ai-yüan Erh-chu Jung's eldest son, held the offices of Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary (civilian Rank 3), General Who Pacifies the North (military Rank 3) and Secretariat Director (civilian Rank 2), which were then changed to Chamberlain for Ceremonials (civilian Rank 3), General-in-chief of Agile Cavalry (military Rank 1), Area Commander Unequaled in Honor (military and civilian Rank 1), Palace Attendant (civilian Rank 3) and Lord Specially Advanced (civilian Rank 2). P'u-t'i died at the age of fourteen. Posthumously, in addition to many offices he already held during his lifetime, he was awarded the office of Minister of Education, one of the Three Dukes (civilian Rank 1). P'u-t'i died before he could inherit his father's noble titles, but while alive, he was heir to his family's prestige. Although he did not directly inherit any official titles, his official titles were based on his father's merit, as the history clearly states.¹²⁷

In some cases, official titles were also directly inheritable under the T'o-pa Wei, along with noble titles and fiefs. The biography of Hsüeh Chin in the *Wei shu* states that he inherited the title of General Who Pacifies the West from his father Pien, along with the title of Marquis of Fen-yin.¹²⁸ Hsüeh Chin's grandson Yin inherited the office of General-in-chief Who Attacks the West from Chin's son Ch'u-ku-pa, along with the title of Duke of Ho-tung.¹²⁹ The office of Regional Inspector of Ping-chou had been held for generations by the Erh-chu clan of Pei-hsiu before Erh-chu Chao received it. It is even called a hereditary office by the *Wei shu*.¹³⁰ Lu Jui from Tai-chün inherited the office of General-in-chief of the Pacification Army from his father Lu Li, along with the title of Prince of P'ing-yüan.¹³¹

¹²⁷ WS 74/1656.

¹²⁸ WS 42/941.

¹²⁹ WS 42/943.

¹³⁰ WS 75/1664.

¹³¹ WS 40/911.

Arbiters

There were one hundred and forty-eight recorded appointments to the office of Arbiter under the T'o-pa Wei. Below is a list of the individuals who held the posts, their choronyms, highest official ranks, and the highest ranks held by their fathers.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Choronym</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Father's Rank</u>	<u>Source</u>
Chang I	Ch'ing-ho	2	—	WS 64/1427
Chang Ling-fu	Ho-nan	3	1	WS 33/780
Chang Lun	Shang-ku	4	4	WS 24/617
Chang Wei	T'ai-yüan	3	—	WS 84/1844
Ch'ang-sun Sung	Tai-chün	1	3	WS 25/643
Chao Yung	Nan-yang	3	3	WS 93/2003
Chen Ch'en	Chung-shan	3	—	WS 68/1509
Cheng Ching-shu	Hsing-yang	5	(uncle 3)	WS 56/1245
Cheng Tao-chao	Hsing-yang	3	3	WS 56/1240
Ch'eng Kuei	Shang-ku	2	—	WS 94/2030
Ch'i Hung-pao	Ho-nan	5	1	WS 81/1791
Chia Ssu-t'ung	Ch'i-chün	1	(uncle 4)	WS 72/1615
Chia Hsien-tu	Chung-shan	1	—	WS 80/1775
Chia Hsiu	Wu-wei	4	2	WS 33/792
Chu Jui	Tai-chün	2	5	WS 80/1769
Chu Yüan-hsü	Lo-ling	2	—	WS 72/1624
Erh-chu Shih-lung	Pei-hsiu	1	3	WS 75/1668
Fan Tzu-ku	Tai-chün	1	5	WS 80/1777
Fang Chao	Ch'ing-ho	5	3	WS 72/1622
Fang Chien	Ch'ing-ho	3	(uncle 5)	WS 43/972
Fang Ching-hsien	Ch'ing-ho	5	(uncle 4)	WS 43/978
Fang Ch'üan	Ch'ing-ho	5	5	WS 72/1621
Fang Liang	Ch'ing-ho	3	5	WS 72/1621
Fei Mu	Tai-chün	1	3	WS 44/1003
Feng Chin	Po-hai	1	—	WS 94/2033
Feng Hui	Po-hai	2	2	WS 32/761
Feng Kuei	Po-hai	3	(uncle 3)	WS 32/764
Hou Hsiang	Ho-nan	3	1	WS 93/2006
Hou Kang	Ho-nan	3	—	WS 93/2004
Hsia-hou Kuai	Ch'iao-kuo	3	2	WS 71/1584
Hsin Chen-chih	Lung-hsi	2	(uncle 1)	WS 77/1702
Hsin Ch'ang	Lung-hsi	5	—	WS 77/1691
Hsin Hsiung	Lung-hsi	1	5	WS 77/1691
Hsin Tsuan	Lung-hsi	2	(uncle 5)	WS 77/1698
Hsing Luan	Ho-chien	3	4	WS 65/1437
Hsing Sun	Ho-chien	2	3	WS 65/1448

Hsing Yen	Ho-chien	3	4	WS 65/1448
Hsü Chi	Kao-yang	3	(uncle 4)	WS 46/1036
Hsüeh Ch'eng-hua	Ho-tung	2	5	WS 61/1355
Hsüeh Feng-tzu	Ho-tung	5	3	WS 42/944
Ju Hao	Wu-chün	3	5	WS 93/2000
Kao Chao	Po-hai	1	5	WS 83/1829
Kao Tang	Po-hai	3	5	WS 57/1259
Kao Yu	Po-hai	2	4	WS 57/1259
K'ou Meng	Shang-ku	5	—	WS 93/1997
Kuo Tso	T'ai-yüan	2	—	WS 64/1621
Li Chiao	Chao-chün	4	(uncle 3)	WS 36/845
Li Chin	Chao-chün	2	5	WS 49/1098
Li Ching-i	Chao-chün	4	3	WS 36/844
Li Ch'ien	Chao-chün	2	1	WS 36/836
Li Hsien	Chao-chün	2	5	WS 36/835
Li Hsiu-lin	Chao-chün	3	(uncle 4)	WS 36/843
Li Hsüan-mou	Chao-chün	2	4	WS 49/1102
Li P'ing	Chao-chün	3	5	WS 49/1099
Li Yüan-chung	Chao-chün	1	4	PCS 22/313
Li Hsien	Chung-shan	3	5	WS 33/788
Li Shen	Hung-nung	1	3	WS 70/1561
Li Ch'ien	Lung-hsi	1	3	WS 39/889
Li Shao	Lung-hsi	1	3	WS 39/886
Li Yen	Lung-hsi	1	3	WS 39/888
Li Yüan	Lung-hsi	1	—	CHO 25/418
Li Shu-hu	Po-hai	4	—	WS 72/1616
Li Hsieh	T'an-ting	2	2	WS 65/1456
Li P'ing	T'an-ting	2	1	WS 65/1451
Li Ch'ung	Tun-ch'iu	1	—	WS 66/1456
Liu Ch'ing-ho	Ho-tung	5	4	WS 45/1030
Liu Ch'ung	Ho-tung	4	—	WS 45/1029
Liu Fan	Ho-tung	3	3	WS 45/1031
Liu K'ai	Ho-tung	2	4	WS 45/1030
Liu Seng-hsi ¹³²	Ho-tung	4	—	CHO 22/369
Liu Yung	Ho-tung	3	3	WS 45/1030
Liu Chih	P'eng-ch'eng	3	2	WS 55/1228
Liu Fang	P'eng-ch'eng	3	5	WS 55/1219
Liu I	P'eng-ch'eng	3	3	WS 55/1227
Liu Yü	P'eng-ch'eng	4	(uncle 3)	WS 55/1230
Liu Ling-chu	Yen-chün	2	4	WS 91/1958
Lu Ch'ang	Fan-yang	2	3	WS 47/1055

¹³² Seng-hsi seems to have been Ch'ung's brother, since Ch'ung's style was Seng-sheng. He is not mentioned, however, in Ch'ung's biography in WS 58/1929.

Lu Hung	Fan-yang	5	(uncle 3)	WS 47/1063
Lu Tao-ch'ien	Fan-yang	1	3	WS 47/1051
Lu Tao-yü	Fan-yang	3	3	WS 47/1051
Lu Tao-yüeh	Fan-yang	1	3	WS 47/1052
Lu T'ung	Fan-yang	1	(uncle 1)	WS 76/1681
Lu Yüan	Fan-yang	3	3	WS 47/1047
Lu Yüan-ming	Fan-yang	4	3	WS 47/1060
Lu Hsiu	Tai-chün	3	1	WS 40/905
Lu Ching-lüeh	Yang-p'ing	5	5	WS 72/1620
Mu Liang	Tai-chün	1	1	WS 27/667
Mu Shao	Tai-chün	1	1	WS 27/671
Mu-jung Ch'i	Tai-chün	3	(uncle 1)	WS 50/1122
P'ei Chih	Ho-tung	2	(uncle 3)	WS 71/1570
P'ei Chiung	Ho-tung	4	3	WS 71/1572
P'ei Hsüan	Ho-tung	3	3	WS 45/1023
P'ei Hsün	Ho-tung	3	(uncle 4)	WS 45/1021
P'ei Liang	Ho-tung	2	(uncle 1)	WS 69/1531
P'ei T'o	Ho-tung	3	5	WS 88/1906
P'ei Ts'an	Ho-tung	2	(uncle 3)	WS 71/1573
P'ei Yen-chün	Ho-tung	3	—	WS 69/1528
Pi I-ch'ang	Tung-p'ing	2	5	WS 61/1362
Pi Tsu-Hsiu	Tung-p'ing	2	3	WS 61/1362
Pi Wen-wei	Tung-p'ing	2	2	WS 61/1364
P'ing Chi	Yen-kuo	2	—	WS 94/2032
Ssu-ma Tsuan	Ho-nei	5	1	WS 37/857
Sung Fan	Kuang-p'ing	3	(uncle 3)	WS 77/1689
Sung Pien	Kuang-p'ing	3	—	WS 63/1414
Tiao Cheng	Po-hai	2	3	WS 38/872
Tsu Ying	Fan-yang	1	4	WS 82/1798
Ts'ui Ch'ang-wen	Ch'ing-ho	3	(uncle 3)	WS 67/1506
Ts'ui Chung	Ch'ing-ho	2	3	WS 24/626
Ts'ui Hsiu	Ch'ing-ho	2	—	WS 69/1525
Ts'ui Hung	Ch'ing-ho	3	5	WS 67/1501
Ts'ui Kuang	Ch'ing-ho	1	3	WS 67/1487
Ts'ui Li	Ch'ing-ho	3	1	WS 67/1500
Ts'ui Liang	Ch'ing-ho	2	(uncle 4)	WS 66/1476
Ts'ui Lung-tsung	Ch'ing-ho	5	5	WS 32/759
Ts'ui Seng-yüan	Ch'ing-ho	4	(uncle 5)	WS 24/631
Ts'ui Tzu-yüan	Ch'ing-ho	5	3	WS 67/1505
Ts'ui Ho	Po-ling	5	4	WS 49/1104
Ts'ui Hsiao-fen	P'o-ling	1	3	WS 57/1266
Ts'ui Mien	P'o-ling	2	1	WS 57/1269
Ts'ui T'ing	P'o-ling	3	5	WS 57/1263
Wang Chung-hsing	Chao-chün	3	3	WS 93/1996

Wang Su	Lang-ya	1	3	WS 63/1407
Wang Yen	Lang-ya	2	(uncle 1)	WS 63/1413
Wang Hsien	Po-hai	2	5	WS 33/775
Wang Ch'iuung	T'ai-yüan	2	2	WS 38/878
Wang Hui-lung	T'ai-yüan	4	5	WS 38/875
Wei Hsien-tsung	Ch'ang-li	4	3	WS 60/1337
Wei Hsü ¹³³	Ching-chao	3	5	CHO 31/535
Wei Chün	Pei-chao	4	4	WS 45/1009
Wei Ch'ung	Pei-chao	3	4	WS 45/1012
Wei Hsiu-chih	Pei-chao	2	3	WS 45/1012
Wen Tzu-sheng	T'ai-yüan	2	5	WS 85/1874
Yang Fan	Ch'ang-lo	3	—	WS 94/2029
Yang Chien	Hung-nung	1	3	WS 58/1303
Yang Chün	Hung-nung	3	3	CHO 22/364
Yang K'uan	Hung-nung	1	3	WS 58/1303
Yang Wei	Hung-nung	3	3	WS 58/1301
Yang Ni	Pei-p'ing	5	—	WS 72/1601
Yu Chao	Kuang-p'ing	2	1	WS 55/1215
Yü Tsuan	Ch'ang-li	1	3	WS 33/782
Yü Chung	Tai-chün	1	1	WS 31/741
Yü Hsin	Tai-chün	3	3	WS 31/747
Yüan Fan	Ch'en-chün	3	4	WS 69/1536
Yüan Yü-hsiu	Ch'en-chün	5	3	WS 85/1870
Yüan Ssu-li	Tai-chün	1	1	WS 41/923
Yüan Tsuan	Tai-chün	3	(uncle 4)	WS 41/937
Yüan Tzu-yung ¹³⁴	Tai-chün	2	1	WS 41/929
Yü-wen Fu	Ho-nan	2	—	WS 44/1000

There were, as is immediately obvious, more recorded appointees to the office of Arbiter under the T'o-pa Wei (148) than under any other early medieval dynasty. Of the one hundred and forty-eight appointments, fully one hundred and four (just over 70%) went to clans who were able to secure more than one appointment — twenty-seven clans in all. The remaining forty-four Arbiter appointees were single representatives of their clans.

Another marked difference in Arbiter appointments under the T'o-pas is the number allotted to certain clans. For the first time in early medieval history some clans hold eight, nine, or even ten appointments.

The only clan to hold ten appointments — the highest number ever under one

¹³³ This title is mentioned in his son Shu-yüan's biography in CHO 31/535. The *Wei shu* does not mention it.

¹³⁴ Yüan Tzu-yung's title is attributed to his younger brother Tzu-kung in the biography of Tzu-kung's son Piao in PCS 43/577.

dynasty — were the Ts'uis from Ch'ing-ho. The Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis first emerged as a prominent clan during the Three Kingdoms period, and remained one of the leading bureaucratic clans in the North during the remainder of the early medieval period.¹³⁵

The Li clan from Chao-chün received nine appointments, just one less than the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis. But unlike the Ts'uis, an old bureaucratic clan, the Chao-chün Lis were newcomers to the circle of clans with special status. It was only under T'o-pa rule that they achieved national prominence, and they kept it under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i.

Two clans held eight appointments each to the office of Arbiter: the Lus from Fan-yang and the P'eis from Ho-tung. The Fan-yang Lus were an old Later Han bureaucratic clan, which retained power and prestige throughout the early medieval period under the Northern Dynasties. The Ho-tung P'eis were one of the most prominent early medieval clans in the South, their eminent status dating back to the Three Kingdoms period.¹³⁶ But they also played an important role under all of the Northern dynasties. They were one of the very few clans to have maintained privileged status in both the South and the North.

These four clans managed to hold thirty-five offices of Arbiter, or almost one quarter (just under 24%) of all such offices recorded under the T'o-pas. Undoubtedly, they were all very powerful clans, but as our study reveals, they all sprang to prominence at different times, and managed to hold onto their power for different lengths of time under different dynasties. They were not a monolithic group.

Below them, based on the number of recorded appointments to the office of Arbiter, were the Lius from Ho-tung, who had six appointees. The Ho-tung Lius were a prominent clan in the South from Liu Sung times on through the Southern Ch'i, the Liang, and all the way into the Ch'en. In the North, however, they only appear under one dynasty — the T'o-pa Wei.

The Fang clan from Ch'ing-ho held five appointments to the office of Arbiter under the T'o-pas. The Fangs were newcomers to the elite. They first emerged as a prominent clan under the T'o-pa Wei, but their prestige lasted into the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i.

Five clans held four appointments each to the office of Arbiter: the Hsin clan from Lung-hsi, the Li clan from Lung-hsi, the Liu clan from P'eng-ch'eng, the Ts'ui clan from Po-ling, and the Yang clan from Hung-nung. The Hsins from Lung-hsi were new to the circle of the national elite. Some Lung-hsi Hsins were already mentioned in the *Chin shu*, but it is impossible to connect them directly with the Hsins of the T'o-pa regime. They did not survive into the following dynasties. The Lung-hsi Lis were new to the elite, too, but after emerging at this time, they retained their prestige under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i dynasty as well.¹³⁷ Members of

¹³⁵ Some Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis are also mentioned in the *Sung shih* and the *Nan-ch'i shih*.

¹³⁶ They have already been mentioned earlier in this chapter.

¹³⁷ Some Lung-hsi Lis are mentioned both in the *Chin shu* and the *Wei shu*, but they cannot be connected directly.

the P'eng-ch'eng Liu clan have surfaced in the dynastic histories covering the Chin, the Liu Sung, the Southern Ch'i, the Liang, the T'o-pa Wei, the Northern Ch'i and the Northern Chou, but the clan members mentioned in the *Wei shu* cannot be connected to the earlier ones.¹³⁸ The P'o-ling Ts'uis were an old Later Han bureaucratic clan. They maintained their high status throughout the early medieval period — under the Three Kingdoms, the Chin, and all of the Northern Dynasties. The Hung-nung Yangs, too, were an old Later Han bureaucratic clan and their members appear in the sources under the Three Kingdoms, the Chin, and all of the Northern Dynasties.¹³⁹

Like the clans who held eight, nine and ten appointments, the clans with four, five and six were able to use the office of Arbiter under the T'o-pa regime towards the end of remaining in power. But they, too, sprang to prominence at different times and were not a monolithic group.

Six clans received three Arbiter posts each: the Fengs from Po-hai, the Hsings from Ho-chien, the Kaos from Po-hai, the Pis from Tung-p'ing, the Weis from Pei-chao, and the Yüans from Tai-chün. The six clans were, without exception, completely new to the early medieval ruling class. They all emerged under the T'o-pas. The clans who managed to secure three Arbiter appointments for their members were therefore not members of an entrenched elite — they rose and fell with the T'o-pa rulers.

In addition, ten clans were able to receive two Arbiter posts each: the Chengs from Hsing-yang, the Hous from Ho-nan, the Hsüehs from Ho-tung, the Lis from T'an-ting, the Mus from Tai-chün, the Sungs from Kuang-p'ing, the Wangs from Lang-ya, the Wangs from T'ai-yüan, the Yüs from Tai-chün, and the Yüans from Ch'en-chün. The Chengs were an old Later Han clan, whose members appear in dynastic histories throughout the early medieval period: the Three Kingdoms, the Chin, and all the Northern Dynasties. The Hous, the T'an-ting Lis and the Tai-chün Mus appear only under the T'o-pa Wei. The Ho-tung Hsüehs and the Kuang-p'ing Sungs both joined the bureaucratic elite under the T'o-pas, but they survived into the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i. Both Wang clans were well known before the T'o-pa Wei time: the T'ai-yüan Wangs maintained a position of prestige from the Later Han period, through the Three Kingdoms, the Chin, and all the Northern Dynasties — the entire duration of the early medieval period; the Lang-ya Wangs came to national prominence under the Chin, and were active in the political life of all the Southern Dynasties, while also having achieved some power under the T'o-pa Wei. The Tai-chün Yüs were a new clan, first appearing under the T'o-pas,¹⁴⁰ while the Ch'en-chün Yüans had already attained high status during the Three Kingdoms period, and acted on the political scene during all of the Southern Dynasties and all of the Northern Dynasties with the exception of

¹³⁸ In some cases direct family ties between individuals mentioned cannot be established.

¹³⁹ In some cases, direct family ties between individuals mentioned cannot be established. The commandery name Hung-nung is also variably given as Heng-nung.

¹⁴⁰ Their status did not survive into the next dynasty.

the Northern Chou. Again, this group of Arbiter post appointees is far from homogeneous.

Forty-four individuals were the only holders of the Arbiter post in their respective clans. Thirty-eight of them came from clans that are mentioned for the first time in the dynastic sources of this time. Of the thirty-eight, thirty-one belong to clans not mentioned after the T'o-pa period; two others belong to clans whose members are mentioned in the histories of the Southern dynasties. Only two Arbiters from this group belong to clans that continued to play an important role under the subsequent Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i dynasty as well.

The remaining six Arbiters belong to clans that had been mentioned in sources prior to T'o-pa rule. Chia Hsiu's clan from Wu-wei was well established during the Three Kingdoms period and under the Chin, but the individuals mentioned in the *Wei shu* cannot be connected directly to the earlier group — perhaps suggesting the dwindling influence of the clan. The same is true of the Hsia-hou clan from Ch'iao-kuo, which at this time produced one Arbiter, Kuai, and of the Kuo clan from T'ai-yüan, with Tso as their sole Arbiter under the T'o-pas. The Ssu-ma clan from Ho-nei (with Tsuan as Arbiter) and the Tiao clan from Po-hai (with Cheng as Arbiter) were both prominent under the Chin and the T'o-pa Wei,¹⁴¹ but their influence decreased thereafter, as suggested by the fact that clan members who have biographies in the *Pei-ch'i shu* can no longer be connected to the earlier clan members. In the case of the Wens from T'ai-yüan, some of the clan members are mentioned in both the *Chin shu* and the *Wei shu* but their relations cannot be established — suggesting that the clan did not play an important role on the national scene at this time.

The group of forty-four Arbiters, the sole Arbiter-post-holders from their respective clans, was not homogeneous. If anything general can be said about it at all, it is that most appointees came from clans new to the bureaucratic elite, and that very often their influence did not exceed the duration of the T'o-pa Wei dynasty.

Of the one-hundred and forty-eight recorded appointees to the office of the Arbiter under the T'o-pa Wei, thirty held offices with Rank 1; forty held offices with Rank 2; forty-seven held offices with Rank 3; fourteen held offices with Rank 4; and seventeen held offices with Rank 5. Less than one third of the Arbiters (less than 32%) held middle-level offices in the central government, and only 21% of them held offices below Rank 3. By contrast, over 47% of the Arbiters held offices with ranks 1 and 2. Compared to Arbiters of the early medieval dynasties discussed above, the T'o-pa Wei Arbiters held relatively high offices. But what distinguishes them even more from the Arbiter office-holders in the South is the diversity of their background. The office of Arbiter under the T'o-pa regime was used not so much to entrench the interests of an already established bureaucratic elite, as to extend the influence of the newly risen clans. Only forty-two of all T'o-pa Wei Arbiter appointments (just over 28%) went to members of the entrenched Chinese

¹⁴¹ The Ssu-mas were, of course, the Chin ruling house.

bureaucratic elite. Unfortunately, we do not have sources to examine the origins of the T'o-pa elite prior to their mention in the Chinese sources. Old T'o-pa aristocratic clans undoubtedly represented a good portion of the new privileged class that now ruled Northern China. Some of the 72% of T'o-pa Wei Arbiter posts that seem to belong to new clans must have been held by members of such old T'o-pa clans. In any case, they were new to the elite circle that exerted influence in China Proper, during the early medieval period.

If we base our estimate of social mobility on the analysis of appointees to the office of Arbiter, we must conclude that society was very fluid under the T'o-pas.

The following chart illustrates the origins of the clans of all Arbiters during the T'o-pa Wei period:

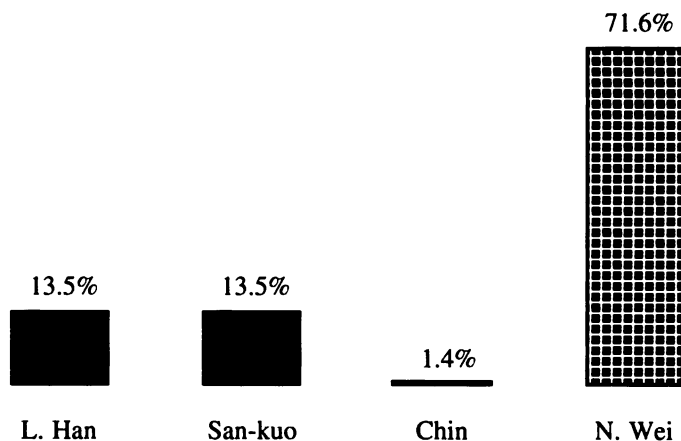


Chart 7a: Origins of clans of the T'o-pa Wei Arbiters

It is worth noting that more Arbiters of the T'o-pa Wei period belonged to clans who had sprung to national prominence during the Later Han and the Three Kingdoms period, than during the immediately preceding Chin dynasty.

Offices with Rank 1

The fact that some of the highest official titles under the T'o-pa Wei were sometimes inherited from one generation to another, contributed without doubt to the proliferation in the number of titles with Rank 1 which have been recorded in the *Wei shu*. There were one-hundred and twenty-one civilian titles with Rank 1 awarded during this period, and one-hundred and sixty-two military titles of the same rank. Below are lists of all the individuals who held them. Civilian and military posts are listed separately, indicating the choronym for each individual, and the highest official titles held by his father and grandfather.

Civilian posts with Rank 1

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Ch'ang-sun Han	Tai-chün	1	—	WS 26/653
Ch'ang-sun I-kuei	Tai-chün	1	3	WS 25/647
Ch'ang-sun Kuan	Tai-chün	3	1	WS 25/646
Ch'ang-sun Sung	Tai-chün	3	—	WS 25/643
Ch'ang-sun Tao-sheng	Tai-chün	(uncle 1)	(uncle 3)	WS 25/645
Chao Hei	Ho-nei ¹⁴²	—	—	WS 94/2016
Ch'en Chien	Tai-chün	3	2	WS 34/802
Cheng Hsien-hu	Hsing-yang	3	3	WS 56/1247
Ch'i Chün	Ho-nan ¹⁴³	—	3	WS 81/1791
Chia Chih	Chung-shan	low	—	WS 80/1775
Chia Hsien-tu	Chung-shan	low	—	WS 80/1774
Ch'ih-lieh Yen-ch'ing	Tai-chün	5	—	WS 80/1771
Ch'ih-lieh P'ing	Tai-chün	(uncle 1)	5	WS 80/1772
Erh-chu Chao ¹⁴⁴	Pei-hsiu	(uncle 1)	2	WS 75/1661
Erh-chu Chih-hu	Pei-hsiu	(uncle 1)	2	WS 75/1664
Erh-chu Chung-yüan	Pei-hsiu	(uncle 2)	3	WS 75/1666
Erh-chu Jung	Pei-hsiu	2	3	WS 74/1643
Erh-chu Pi	Pei-hsiu	(uncle 2)	3	WS 75/1671
Erh-chu P'u-t'i	Pei-hsiu	1	2	WS 74/1656
Erh-chu Shih-lung	Pei-hsiu	(uncle 2)	3	WS 75/1668
Erh-chu T'ien-kuang	Pei-hsiu	(uncle 2)	(uncle 3)	WS 75/1673
Erh-chu Tu-lü	Pei-hsiu	(uncle 2)	3	WS 75/1672
Erh-chu Wen-ch'ang	Pei-hsiu	1	2	WS 74/1656
Erh-chu Yen-po	Pei-hsiu	(uncle 2)	3	WS 75/1665
Fan Tzu-ku	Tai-chün	5	—	WS 80/1777
Fei Mu	Tai-chün	3	3	WS 44/1003
Feng Hsi	Ch'ang-lo	4	— ¹⁴⁵	WS 83/1818
Feng Tan	Ch'ang-lo	1	4	WS 83/1820
Feng Chin	Po-hai	—	5	WS 94/2033
Feng Lung-chih	Po-hai	2	2	WS 32/762
Ho Ch'i-nu	Tai-chün	—	—	WS 44/993
Ho-lien Ta ¹⁴⁶	Sheng-lo	—	—	CHO 27/439
Ho-pa Sheng	Shen-wu	—	low	WS 80/1779
Ho-pa Yüeh	Shen-wu	—	low	WS 80/1782
Hou Kang	Ho-nan	—	—	WS 93/2004

¹⁴² Chao Hei claimed to be from Ho-nei, Wen. WS 94/2016.

¹⁴³ Although the domicile is listed as Ho-nan, Lo-yang, the ancestors of the Ch'i clan were from the Tai commandery.

¹⁴⁴ The Erh-chu clan ancestors lived in Erh-chu-ch'uan, so they took it as their surname. WS 74/1643.

¹⁴⁵ Feng Hsi's grandfather is mentioned in the "Biographies of sea barbarians" (*Hai-i chuan*).

¹⁴⁶ His great-grandfather K'u-to-han had changed the surname to Tu, to obscure his origins. CHO 27/439.

Hou Yüan	Shen-wu	—	—	WS 80/1786
Hou-mo-ch'ên Yüeh	Tai-chün	5	—	WS 80/1784
Hsi Chin ¹⁴⁷	Tai-chün	—	—	WS 29/697
Hsiao Cheng-piao	Lan-ling	1	1	WS 59/1326
Hsiao Pao-yin	Lan-ling	1	1	WS 59/1313
Hsiao Tsan	Lan-ling	(uncle 1)	1	WS 59/1325
Hsüeh An-tu	Ho-tung	5	—	WS 61/1353
Hsüeh T'an-chen	Tai-chün	1	3	WS 44/1000
Hu Ch'ien	An-ting	4	(uncle 1)	WS 83/1836
Hu Kuo-chen	An-ting	4	low	WS 83/1833
Hu-ssu Ch'un	Kuang-mu	5	—	WS 80/1772
I Fu	Tai-chün	—	—	WS 44/989
I Kuei ¹⁴⁸	Tai-chün	— ¹⁴⁹	—	WS 44/991
Kao Ao-ts'ao	Po-hai	3	(uncle 4)	WS 57/1263
Kao Chao	Po-hai ¹⁵⁰	5	—	WS 83/1829
Kao Ch'ên	Po-hai	1	5	WS 32/753
Kao Kan-yung	Po-hai	3	(uncle 4)	WS 57/1263
Kao Kuei-yen	Po-hai	2	5	WS 32/755
Kao Lung-chih	Po-hai	5	2	WS 32/757
Kao Shu-sheng	Po-hai	5	3	WS 32/752
Kao Ssu-tsung	Po-hai	low	low	WS 32/756
Kao Yüeh	Po-hai	4	5	WS 32/753
Kao Yung-lo	Po-hai	low	3	WS 32/754
Kou T'ui	Tai-chün	low	—	WS 44/993
K'ou Lo	Shang-ku	—	—	CHO 15/237
Ku Pi	Tai-chün	—	—	WS 28/689
Li Shun	Chao-chün	4	1	WS 36/829
Li Yüan-chung	Chao-chün	5	5	WS 49/1098
Li Hui	Chung-shan	2	—	WS 83/1824
Li Hsin	Fan-yang	3	5	WS 46/1039
Li Shen	Hung-nung	3	—	WS 70/1561
Li Shu-jen	I-chou	—	—	WS 73/1639
Li Ch'ang-shou	I-ch'uan	5	—	CHO 43/773
Li Chün	Liang-kuo	5	—	WS 83/1824
Li Ch'ien	Lung-hsi	3	1	WS 39/889
Li Pao	Lung-hsi	4	1	WS 39/885

¹⁴⁷ Hsi Chin's ancestors were all horse herdsman. They were awarded the status of an old official family by Emperor T'ai-tsu on account of Hsi Chin's father, who refused to give horses to the competing Tribal Overseer and Fu Chien.

¹⁴⁸ I Kuei's surname is not the same as I Fu's. They are both from Tai-chün.

¹⁴⁹ His ancestors were tribal rulers.

¹⁵⁰ The *Wei shu* states that Kao Chao claimed to be from Po-hai. His ancestor in the fifth generation, Ku, emigrated from the Chin empire to the state of Kao-li on present day Korean peninsula during the *yung-chia* disturbances. The author of *Wei shu* apparently had no other source to confirm his claims. WS 83B/1829.

Li Shen-chün	Lung-hsi	1	1	WS 39/895
Li Yen-chih	Lung-hsi	(uncle 1)	(uncle 3)	WS 82/1797
Li Yen-shih	Lung-hsi	2	5	WS 83/1836
Li Yü	Lung-hsi	1	3	WS 83/1837
Li Ch'ung	Tun-ch'iu	—	—	WS 66/1465
Liu Ch'ang	P'eng-ch'eng	3	—	WS 59/1307
Liu Shih-ming	P'eng-ch'eng	5	(uncle 5)	WS 55/1231
Liu T'eng	P'ing-yüan ¹⁵¹	—	—	WS 94/2027
Liu Ni	Tai-chün	3	—	WS 30/721
Lu Lu-yüan	Ch'ang-li	high ¹⁵²	high ¹⁵³	WS 34/801
Lu T'ung	Fan-yang	low	(uncle 2)	WS 76/1681
Lu Ching-yüan	Tai-chün	2	5	WS 40/917
Lu Li	Tai-chün	1	4	WS 40/907
Lu Ting-guo	Tai-chün	1	1	WS 40/908
Mu Chien	Tai-chün	1	1	WS 27/667
Mu Ch'ou-shan ¹⁵⁴	Tai-chün	—	—	WS 27/676
Mu Ch'ung	Tai-chün	—	—	WS 27/661
Mu Liang	Tai-chün	1	1	WS 27/667
Mu Shao	Tai-chün	1	1	WS 27/671
Mu-jung Po-yao	Tai-chün	3	—	WS 50/1116
P'i Hsi	Yü-yang	1	—	WS 51/1132
P'i Pao-tzu	Yü-yang	—	—	WS 51/1129
Ssu-ma Ch'u-chih ¹⁵⁵	Ho-nei	4	(uncle 5)	WS 37/854
Ssu-ma Tzu-ju	Ho-nei	5	—	PCS 18/238
T'ien I-tsung	Kuang-ch'eng	—	—	WS 61/1370
Tsu Ying	Fan-yang	4	5	WS 82/1798
Ts'ui Hsiao-fen	Po-ling	3	5	WS 57/1266
Ts'ui Ping	Po-ling	4	—	WS 49/1104
Ts'ui I	Tung-ch'ing-ho	3	1	WS 67/1500
Ts'ui Kuang	Tung-ch'ing-ho	3	5	WS 67/1487
Tu Ch'ao	Wei-chün	— ¹⁵⁶	—	WS 83/1815
Tu Yüan-pao	Wei-chün	1	—	WS 83/1815
Wang Tu	Kuang-ning	—	2	WS 30/711

¹⁵¹ Liu T'eng was originally a native of P'ing-yüan. He moved to the Ch'iao commandery in the Nan-yen region.

¹⁵² Lu Lu-yüan's great-grandfather held an office of Director of the Department of State Affairs (*shang-shu ling*) under Mu-jung Ch'ui, with Rank 1, 2 or 3. His father's and grandfather's offices are said to have been "high."

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ch'ou-shan was a clansman of Mu Ch'ung. He held the position of the Tribal Overseer of the Ministry of Heaven (*t'ien-pu ta-jen*) under the T'o-pa Wei Emperor T'ai-tsu. The Six Ministries — Ministry of Heaven (*t'ien-pu*), Ministry of Earth (*ti-pu*), Ministry of the East (*tung-pu*), Ministry of the West (*hsi-pu*), Ministry of the South (*nan-pu*), and Ministry of the North (*pei-pu*) — were established in A.D. 417, and were headed by Tribal Overseers (*ta-jen*).

¹⁵⁵ Ssu-ma Ch'u-chih was descended from the Chin royal family. His direct ancestor in eight generation was the Chamberlain for Ceremonials Ssu-ma K'uei, Chin Emperor Hsüan's younger brother.

¹⁵⁶ Tu Ch'ao was an elder brother of the Mi Empress. Their ancestors are not mentioned in the dynastic history.

Wang Su	Lang-ya	3	–	WS 63/1407
Wei Ching	Shan-wu	–	–	PCS 15/194
Wei Chüan	Tai-chün	2	–	WS 26/656
Wei Yüan	Tai-chün	3	–	WS 50/1109
Yang Chien	Hung-nung	3	4	CHO 22/368
Yang Chin	Hung-nung ¹⁵⁷	3	5	WS 58/1296
Yang Ch'un	Hung-nung ¹⁵⁸	3	5	WS 58/1284
Yang Mu	Hung-nung	3	4	CHO 22/368
Yang K'an	T'ai-shan	3	3	LS 39/557
Yao Hsiung	Shang-tang	5	2	WS 42/955
Yao Ts'an	Shang-tang	low	2	WS 42/955
Yu Ming-ken	Kuang-p'ing	5	5	WS 55/1213
Yü Chung	Tai-chün	1	2	WS 31/741
Yü Li-ti	Tai-chün	–	–	WS 31/735
Yü Yeh-yen	Tai-chün	–	–	WS 28/684
Yüan Ho	Tai-chün	Prince ¹⁵⁹	?	WS 41/919
Yüan Ssu-li	Tai-chün	1	Prince ¹⁶⁰	WS 41/923
Yüan Tzu-kung	Tai-chün	1	1	WS 41/932

Military posts with Rank 1

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Chang Li	Yen-men	–	–	WS28/693
Ch'ang-sun Fei	Tai-chün	–	–	WS 26/651
Chang-sun I-kuei	Tai-chün	1	3	WS 25/647
Ch'ang-sun Sung	Tai-chün	3	–	WS 25/643
Ch'ang-sun Tzu-yen	Tai-chün	1	1	WS 25/649
Chao Hei	Ho-nei ¹⁶¹	–	–	WS 94/2016
Ch'en Chien	Tai-chün	3	2	WS 34/802
Cheng Hsien-hu	Hsing-yang	3	3	WS 56/1247
Chi Ching	Tai-chün	high ¹⁶²	high ¹⁶³	WS 34/805
Ch'i Chün	Ho-nan ¹⁶⁴	–	3	WS 81/1791
Chia Ssu-t'ung	Ch'i-chün	(uncle 4)	–	WS 72/1615

¹⁵⁷ Yang Chin and his elder brothers Po, Ch'un, etc. claimed to be from Hung-nung. The Yangs of Hung-nung were an old Han bureaucratic clan. The author of the *Wei shu* apparently had no other source to confirm it.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ *Wei shu* says that Yüan Ho counted himself as the son of Prince T'u-fa-ju-t'an of Ho-hsi.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. Yüan Ssu-li was Yüan Ho's second son. Prince T'u-fa-ju-t'an would have been his grandfather.

¹⁶¹ Chao Hei claimed to be from Ho-nei, Wen. WS 94/2016.

¹⁶² Chi Ching's ancestors were tribal commanders.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Although the domicile is listed as Ho-nan, Lo-yang, the ancestors of the Ch'i clan were from the Tai commandery.

Chia Chih	Chung-shan	low	—	WS 80/1775
Chia Hsien-tu	Chung-shan	low	—	WS 80/1774
Ch'ih-lieh Yen-ch'ing	Tai-chün	5	—	WS 80/1771
Erh-chu Chao	Pei-hsiu	(uncle 1)	2	WS 75/1661
Erh-chu Chih-hu	Pei-hsiu	(uncle 1)	2	WS 75/1664
Erh-chu Chung-yüan	Pei-hsiu	(uncle 2)	3	WS 75/1666
Erh-chu Jung	Pei-hsiu	2	3	WS 74/1643
Erh-chu Pi	Pei-hsiu	(uncle 2)	3	WS 75/1671
Erh-chu P'u-t'i	Pei-hsiu	1	2	WS 74/1656
Erh-chu Shih-lung	Pei-hsiu	(uncle 2)	3	WS 75/1668
Erh-chu T'ien-kuang	Pei-hsiu	(uncle 2)	(uncle 3)	WS 75/1673
Erh-chu Tu-lü	Pei-hsiu	(uncle 2)	3	WS 75/1672
Erh-chu Wen-ch'ang	Pei-hsiu	1	2	WS 74/1656
Erh-chu Yen-po	Pei-hsiu	(uncle 2)	3	WS 75/1665
Fan Tzu-ku	Tai-chün	5	—	WS 80/1777
Fei Mu	Tai-chün	3	3	WS 44/1003
Feng Hsi	Ch'ang-lo	4	—	WS 83/1818
Feng Tan	Ch'ang-lo	1	4	WS 83/1820
Feng Chin	Po-hai	—	5	WS 94/2033
Feng Lung-chih	Po-hai	2	2	WS 32/762
Feng P'ing	Po-hai	—	5	WS 94/2034
Feng Yen-chih	Po-hai	2	2	WS 32/763
Feng Ch'ih-wen	Tai-chün	low	1	WS 51/1134
Han Mou	An-ting	3	—	WS 51/1127
Han Pei	An-ting	1	3	WS 51/1128
Han Chün	An-ting	1	3	WS 51/1128
Ho Ch'i-nu	Tai-chün	—	—	WS 44/993
Ho-lien Ta	Sheng-lo	—	—	CHO 27/439
Ho-pa K'o-ni	Shen-wu	—	low	WS 80/1781
Ho-pa Sheng	Shen-wu	—	low	WS 80/1779
Ho-pa Yüeh	Shen-wu	—	low	WS 80/1782
Ho-pa Yün	Shen-wu	—	—	CHO 14/221
Hou Kang	Ho-nan	—	—	WS 93/2004
Hou Yüan	Shen-wu	—	—	WS 80/1786
Hou-mo-ch'en Yüeh	Tai-chün	5	—	WS 80/1784
Hsi Chin	Tai-chün	—	—	WS 29/697
Hsi Chüan	Tai-chün	—	—	WS 30/722
Hsiao Cheng-piao	Lan-ling	1	1	WS 59/1326
Hsiao Pao-yin	Lan-ling	1	1	WS 59/1313
Hsiao Tsan	Lan-ling	(uncle 1)	1	WS 59/1325
Hsin Hsiung	Lung-hsi	5	—	WS 77/1691
Hsü I-kung	P'eng-ch'eng	—	—	WS 93/2002
Hsü Chih-ts'ai	Tan-yang	(uncle 5)	3	WS 91/1968
Hsüeh An-tu	Ho-tung	5	—	WS 61/1353



Hsüeh Ch'u-ku-pa	Ho-tung ¹⁶⁵	3	3	WS 42/942
Hsüeh Yin ¹⁶⁶	Ho-tung	1	3	WS 42/943
Hsüeh Huai-chih	Ho-tung	2	(uncle 5)	WS 61/1358
Hsüeh Hu-tzu	Tai-chün	3	2	WS 44/996
Hsüeh T'an-shang	Tai-chün	1	3	WS 44/999
Hsüeh T'i	T'ai-yüan	—	—	WS 33/795
Hu Kuo-ch'en	An-ting	4	low	WS 83/1833
Hu-ssu Ch'un	Kuang-mu	5	—	WS 80/1772
I Fu	Tai-chün	—	—	WS 44/989
I Kuei ¹⁶⁷	Tai-chün	—	—	WS 44/991
Kao Chao	Po-hai ¹⁶⁸	5	—	WS 83/1829
Kao Ch'en	Po-hai	1	5	WS 32/753
Kao Kuei-yen	Po-hai	2	5	WS 32/755
Kao Sheng	Po-hai	5	2	WS 32/755
Kao Shu-sheng	Po-hai	5	3	WS 32/752
Kao Yung-lo	Po-hai	low	3	WS 32/754
Kou Ku	Tai-chün	—	—	WS 44/995
Kou T'ui	Tai-chün	low	—	WS 44/993
K'ou Lo	Shang-ku	—	—	CHO 15/237
Kuo Yen-po	T'ai-yüan	5	2	WS 64/1427
Lai Ta-ch'ien	Tai-chün	3	—	WS 30/725
Li Chung-hsüan	Chao-chün	(uncle 3)	(uncle 4)	WS 36/845
Li Hsiao-i	Chao-chün	(uncle 5)	(uncle 5)	WS 36/847
Li I	Chao-chün	3	(uncle 4)	WS 36/843
Li Shun	Chao-chün	4	1	WS 36/829
Li Yü	Chao-chün	3	3	WS 53/1178
Li Yüan-chung	Chao-chün	5	5	WS 49/1098
Li Hui	Chung-shan	2	—	WS 83/1824
Li Hsin	Fan-yang	3	5	WS 46/1039
Li Shen	Hung-nung	3	—	WS 70/1561
Li Shu-jen	I-chou	—	—	WS 73/1639
Li Ch'ang-shou	I-ch'uan	5	—	CHO 43/773
Li Ch'ien	Lung-hsi	3	1	WS 39/889
Li Pao	Lung-hsi	4	1	WS 39/885
Li Shao	Lung-hsi	3	1	WS 39/886
Li Shen-chün	Lung-hsi	1	1	WS 39/895
Li Tso	Lung-hsi	1	4	WS 39/894
Li Yen-chih	Lung-hsi	(uncle 1)	(uncle 3)	WS 82/1797

¹⁶⁵ Hsüeh Ch'u-ku-pa's ancestors moved from Shu to the Fen-yin district of the Ho-tung commandery. They used the latter as "home." WS 42/941.

¹⁶⁶ Yin inherited the office of General-in-chief Who Attacks the West from his father Ch'u-ku-pa. WS 42/943.

¹⁶⁷ I Kuei's surname is not the same as I Fu's. They are both from Tai-chün.

¹⁶⁸ The *Wei shu* states that Kao Chao claimed to be from Po-hai. The author of the *Wei shu* apparently had no other source to confirm it. WS 83B/1829.

Li Yü	Lung-hsi	1	3	WS 39/887
Li Yü	Lung-hsi	1	3	WS 83/1837
Li Ch'ung	Tun-ch'iu	—	—	WS 66/1465
Liu Ch'ang	P'eng-ch'eng	3	—	WS 59/1307
Liu Hsin	P'eng-ch'eng	3	5	WS 55/1227
Liu Shih-ming	P'eng-ch'eng	5	(uncle 5)	WS 55/1231
Lo Chin	Tai-chün	2	—	WS 44/987
Lou Fu-lien	Tai-chün	—	—	WS 30/717
Lu Lu-yüan	Ch'ang-li	high	high	WS 34/801
Lu P'u	Fan-yang	(uncle 5)	(uncle 5)	WS 47/1063
Lu Shih-po	Fan-yang	(uncle 3)	(uncle 3)	WS 47/1064
Lu Tao-ch'ien	Fan-yang	3	3	WS 47/1051
Lu Tao-yüeh	Fan-yang	3	3	WS 47/1052
Lu Wen-wei	Fan-yang	(uncle 3)	(uncle 3)	WS 47/1064
Lu Ch'ang	Tai-chün	3	(uncle 1)	WS 40/916
Lu Chün	Tai-chün	4	high ¹⁶⁹	WS 40/901
Lu Chün	Tai-chün	5	(uncle 4)	WS 40/917
Lu Tzu-chang	Tai-chün	3	1	WS 40/910
Meng Wei	Ho-nan	—	—	WS 44/1005
Mu Chien	Tai-chün	1	1	WS 27/667
Mu Ch'ing-hsiu	Tai-chün	3	1	WS 27/673
Mu I	Tai-chün	1	—	WS 27/675
Mu Kuan	Tai-chün	1	—	WS 27/664
Mu Liang	Tai-chün	1	1	WS 27/667
Mu Shao	Tai-chün	1	1	WS 27/671
Mu-jung Po-yao	Tai-chün	3	—	WS 50/1116
P'i Hsi	Yü-yang	1	—	WS 51/1132
P'i Pao-tzu	Yü-yang	—	—	WS 51/1129
Shan Wei	Ho-nan ¹⁷⁰	5	4	WS 81/1792
Shu-sun Chien	Tai-chün	—	—	WS 29/702
Ssu-ma Chin-lung	Ho-nei	1	4	WS 37/857
Ssu-ma Ching-chih	Ho-nei ¹⁷¹	(uncle 5)	(uncle 5)	WS 37/860
Ssu-ma Ch'u-chih	Ho-nei	4	(uncle 5)	WS 37/854
Ssu-ma Tzu-ju	Ho-nei	5	—	PCS 18/238
Ssu-ma Wen-ssu ¹⁷²	Ho-nei	3	2	WS 37/854
Ssu-ma Yen-yung ¹⁷³	Ho-nei	3	4	WS 37/862
Tiao Shuang	Po-hai	5	(uncle 2)	WS 38/874
T'ien I-tsung	Kuang-ch'eng	—	—	WS 61/1370

¹⁶⁹ Lu Chün's grandfather and great-grandfather were tribal commanders.

¹⁷⁰ Shan Wei's ancestors came from the Tai commandery.

¹⁷¹ Ssu-ma Ching-chih descended from the Chin Prince Liang of Ju-nan.

¹⁷² Ssu-ma Wen-ssu was a descendant of the Chin royal family. His direct ancestor was Prince Sun of Ch'iao, Chin Emperor Hsüan's younger brother.

¹⁷³ Ssu-ma Yen-yung descended from the Chin Prince Fu of An-p'ing.

Ts'ui Hao	Ch'ing-ho	1	5	WS 35/807
Ts'ui Hsiao-fen	Po-ling	3	5	WS 57/1266
Ts'ui Ping	Po-ling	4	—	WS 49/1104
Ts'ui Kuang	Tung-ch'ing-ho	3	5	WS 67/1487
Tu Ch'ao	Wei-chün	—	—	WS 83/1815
Tu I	Wei-chün	—	—	WS 83/1815
Wan An-kuo	Tai-chün	2	1	WS 34/804
Wang Tu	Kuang-ning	—	2	WS 30/711
Wang Su	Lang-ya	3	—	WS 63/1407
Wang Ch'o	T'ai-yüan	4	2	WS 93/1994
Wei Tzu-chien	Chü-lu	5	—	WS 104/2321
Wei Ching	Shan-wu	—	—	PCS 15/194
Wei Chüan	Tai-chün	2	—	WS 26/656
Wei To-hou	Tai-chün	1	3	WS 26/657
Wei Yüan	Tai-chün	3	—	WS 50/1109
Yang Chien	Hung-nung	3	4	CHO 22/368
Yang Chin	Hung-nung	3	5	WS 58/1296
Yang Ch'un	Hung-nung	3	5	WS 58/1284
Yang K'uan	Hung-nung	3	(uncle 3)	WS 58/1303
Yang Mu	Hung-nung	3	4	CHO 22/368
Yang K'an	T'ai-shan	3	3	LS 39/557
Yang Shen	T'ai-shan	3	—	WS 77/1702
Yao Ts'an	Shang-tang	low	2	WS 42/955
Yu Ming-ken	Kuang-p'ing	5	5	WS 55/1213
Yü Tsuan	Ch'ang-li	3	2	WS 33/782
Yü Chung	Tai-chün	1	2	WS 31/741
Yü Li-ti	Tai-chün	—	—	WS 31/735
Yü Lieh	Tai-chün	2	1	WS 31/737
Yüan Ho	Tai-chün	Prince	?	WS 41/919
Yüan Ssu-li	Tai-chün	1	Prince	WS 41/923
Yüan Tzu-kung	Tai-chün ¹⁷⁴	1	1	WS 41/932

Ninety-three of the individuals who held military posts with Rank 1, also held civilian titles of the same rank. Although the title of Commander Unequalled in Honor (*k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu*) existed in two variants under the T'o-pa rule — the *k'ai-fu* as a military title of the first rank, and the *i-t'ung san-ssu* as its civilian counterpart — a new title with Rank 1 combined military and civilian duties at this time, namely Commander-in-chief for all Military Affairs (*tu-tu chu chün-shih*). Although the name suggests strictly military duties, this title entailed the supervision of all affairs in the regions designated to its holder, and combined the duties of Governor, Supervisor and Military Commander. A *tu-tu* was in fact a Military

¹⁷⁴ Yüan Tzu-kung's son Piao's biography in PCS 43/577 gives their choronym as Hsi-p'ing, Lo-tu. The *Wei shu* does not record it.

Governor with unlimited powers, and he held Rank 1b.¹⁷⁵ But despite this new combined title with Rank 1,¹⁷⁶ fewer people under the T'o-pas, relatively speaking, held both civilian and military titles of the highest rank than under the Southern dynasties.

Of the one-hundred and twenty-one civilian titles with Rank 1, eighty-three (a little under 69%) went to clans who held more than one such title. Among the thirty-eight individuals who were the sole holders of the top civilian titles in their respective clans, a considerable number belonged to clans whose other members held military titles with Rank 1. Of the one-hundred and sixty-two military titles, one-hundred and twelve (just over 69%) went to clans who held more than one such title.

Among civilian office title-holders, the clans with most appointments were: the Erh-chus from Pei-hsiu (with eleven); the Kaos from Po-hai (with ten); the Lis from Lung-hsi (with six); the Ch'ang-suns from Tai-chün (with five); the Mus from Tai-chün (with five); and the Hsiaos from Lan-ling, the Lius from P'eng-ch'eng, the Yangs from Hung-nung; and the Lus, Yüs and Yüans from Tai-chün (each with three appointments).

Among military office title-holders, the most prominent clans were: the Erh-chus from Pei-hsiu (with eleven appointments); the Lis from Lung-hsi (with eight appointments); the Mus from Tai-chün (with seven appointments); the Kaos from Po-hai, the Lis from Chao-chün, and the Ssu-mas from Ho-nei (with six appointments each); the Lus from Fang-yang and the Yangs from Hung-nung (with five appointments each); the Fengs from Po-hai, the Hsüehs from Ho-tung, and the Lus from Tai-chün (with four appointments each); and the Hans from An-ting, the Hopas from Shen-wu, the Hsiaos from Lan-ling, the Hsüehs from Tai-chün, the Lius from P'eng-ch'eng, the Weis from Tai-chün, the Yüs and the Yüans from Tai-chün (all with three appointments each).

If we make a brief combined list of clans that held most appointments with Rank 1 under the T'o-pas, we can get an impression of which clans wielded most power and prestige, in descending order:

Surname	Choronym	Civilian	Military	Total
Erh-chu	Pei-hsiu	11	11	22
Kao	Po-hai	10	6	16
Li	Lung-hsi	6	8	14
Mu	Tai-chün	5	7	12
Ch'ang-sun	Tai-chün	5	4	9
Li	Chao-chün	2	6	8
Ssu-ma	Ho-nei	2	6	8
Yang	Hung-nung	3	5	8

¹⁷⁵ We do not distinguish between grades within the same Rank throughout this study, for the purpose of uniformity, since such grades did not exist at all times during the early medieval period. The table of T'o-pa Wei titles above, however, shows them for the purpose of accuracy.

¹⁷⁶ The title itself was not new, only its ranking.

Lu	Tai-chün	3	4	7
Feng	Po-hai	2	4	6
Hsiao	Lan-ling	3	3	6
Yü	Tai-chün	3	3	6
Yüan	Tai-chün	3	3	6
Lu	Fan-yang	1	5	6
Ho-pa	Shen-wu	2	3	5
Wei	Tai-chün	2	3	5

We could continue, but clans that held less than five appointments with Rank 1 obviously held less power. Let us now examine the backgrounds of these most prominent clans.

The most prominent clan under the T'o-pas was, without a doubt, the Erh-chus from Pei-hsiu, whose eleven members held eleven civilian and military titles with Rank 1 concurrently. The Erh-chus were an alien clan, just like the T'o-pas, and they were new on the Chinese political scene. They were successful at this time, but did not survive into the following early medieval dynasties.

The Kao clan from Po-hai, with ten civilian and six military offices with Rank 1, came close to the Erh-chus in terms of the power and prestige it achieved under the T'o-pas, and, like the Erh-chus, it was successful only at this time and did not survive into the following early medieval dynasties.¹⁷⁷ The only difference (besides fewer titles) was that it was ethnic Chinese, or appears to have been, because it claimed that one of its ancestors in the fifth generation, a Chin subject, had emigrated to the state of Kao-li on the present-day Korean peninsula.

The Li clan from Lung-hsi held six civilian and eight military titles with Rank 1. The clan first emerged on the political scene under the T'o-pas, and went on to play an important role under the Northern Chou dynasty as well.¹⁷⁸ The same was true for the Ch'ang-sun clan from Tai-chün, whose members held five civilian and four military titles with Rank 1,¹⁷⁹ and the Li clan from Chao-chün, whose members held two civilian and six military titles with Rank 1.¹⁸⁰

The Yangs from Hung-nung were an old Later Han bureaucratic clan, although their line of descent was broken between the Chin and the T'o-pa Wei. It is even questionable whether the Yangs known during the T'o-pa rule were really descended from the Later Han clan. They claimed to be from Hung-nung, but had no evidence to prove it.¹⁸¹ For the purposes of this study, which is attempting to eliminate cases of self-claimed ancestry that could be used to serve later purposes, we must discount their claim.

¹⁷⁷ It should be noted, however, that the clan played an important role under the T'ang, and is included in the Genealogical Tables of the chief ministers in the *Hsin T'ang shu*.

¹⁷⁸ The clan survived into T'ang dynasty, where it played an important role. It is one of the clans represented in the Genealogical Tables of the chief ministers in the *Hsin T'ang shu*.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Yang Po's biography says that he claimed to be from Hung-nung. The author of the *Wei shu* apparently had no other source to confirm it. WS 58/1279.

The Mu clan from Tai-chün, with five civilian and seven military titles, first emerged at this time, too, but it disappeared from the political scene along with the T'o-pa dynasty.

In fact, with the exception of the Fang-yang Lus, the Ho-nei Ssu-mas and the Hung-nung Yangs, none of the other most prominent clans were known before the T'o-pa Wei dynasty. The Fan-yang Lus were an old Later Han bureaucratic clan that survived throughout the early medieval period under the Northern Dynasties. The Ssu-mas were descendants of the Chin imperial family.

The Hsiao from Lan-ling were the imperial clan of the southern Liang dynasty. They were best known in the South, beginning in the Liu Sung period, but they evidently held considerable power under the T'o-pas as well. However, they were not known during the Chin dynasty, and were therefore not an established bureaucratic clan at this time.

We conclude, therefore, that almost all the most prominent clans under the T'o-pas share one characteristic: they came to power under the T'o-pas. They were less successful when it came to survival: some disappeared with the regime that put them in power, some lasted into the following Northern early medieval dynasties, and only a few of them went on to play important roles under the T'ang dynasty.

If we look at all the one-hundred and twenty-one individuals who held civilian offices with Rank 1 under the T'o-pa Wei, we find that only ten came from already established bureaucratic clans: Cheng Hsien-hu from Hsing-yang (who belonged to an old Later Han clan),¹⁸² Lu Tung from Fan-yang (who belonged to an old Later Han clan), Ssu-ma Ch'ü-chih and Ssu-ma Tzu-jung from Ho-nei (who belonged to the Chin imperial clan), Ts'ui Hsiao-fen and Ts'ui Ping from Po-ling (who belonged to an old Later Han clan), Ts'ui I and Ts'ui Kuang from Tung-ch'ing-ho (whose clan first emerged during the Three Kingdoms period), Wang Su from Lang-ya (whose clan emerged under the Chin), and Yang K'an from T'ai-shan (who belonged to an old Later Han clan).¹⁸³ All in all, just over 8% of all civilian posts with Rank 1 under the T'o-pas were held by the already established bureaucratic elite.

When it comes to the military titles with Rank 1, only twenty-two of the one-hundred and sixty-two individuals who held such titles came from established bureaucratic clans. The clans in question were: the Cheng clan from Hsing-yang, an old Later Han clan,¹⁸⁴ with one appointee; the Kuo clan from T'ai-yüan, which dates back to the Three Kingdoms period, with one appointee; the Lu clan from Fan-yang, an old Later Han clan which retained prestige throughout the early medieval period, with five appointees; the Ssu-ma clan from Ho-nei, the Chin imperial clan, with six appointees; the Tiao clan from Po-hai, which first emerged during the Chin period, with one appointee; the Ts'ui clan from Po-ling, an old Later Han clan, with two

¹⁸² The connection between clan members is broken between the Chin and the T'o-pa Wei.

¹⁸³ In addition to the Lan-ling Hsiao and the Hung-nung Yangs which we have discounted, as explained above, we may note the case of the Lius from P'eng-ch'eng. There were some P'eng-ch'eng Lius mentioned already in the *Chin-shu* but the Lius known under the T'o-pas do not seem to be related to them. We regard them here as a newly emerged powerful clan.

¹⁸⁴ The connection between clan members is broken between the Chin and the T'o-pa Wei.

appointees; the Ts'ui clan from (Tung-)Ching-ho, which first emerged during the Three Kingdoms period, with two appointees; the Wang clan from Lang-ya, prominent since the Chin, with one appointee; the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan, an old Later Han clan, with one appointee, and the Yang clan from T'ai-shan, prominent since the Later Han, with two appointees.¹⁸⁵ All in all, less than 14% of all T'o-pa Wei military office-holders with Rank 1 belonged to the already established bureaucratic elite.

Below are two charts that illustrate the origins of the clans of all the individuals who held offices with Rank 1 during the T'o-pa Wei period:

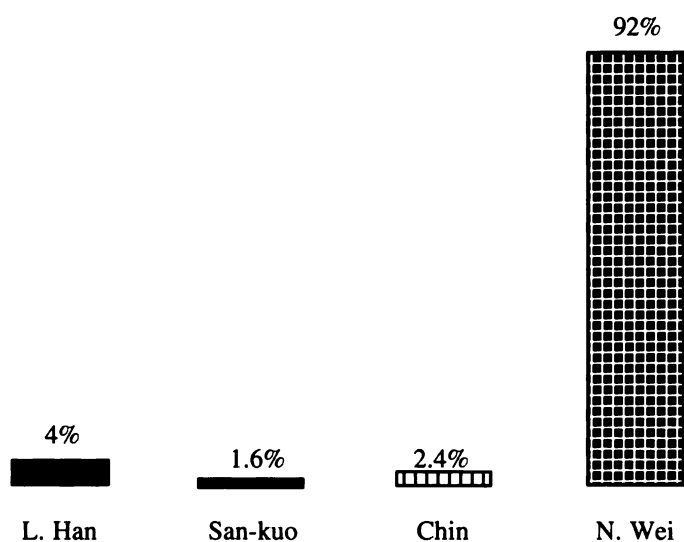


Chart 7b: Origins of clans of civilian office-holders, Rank 1

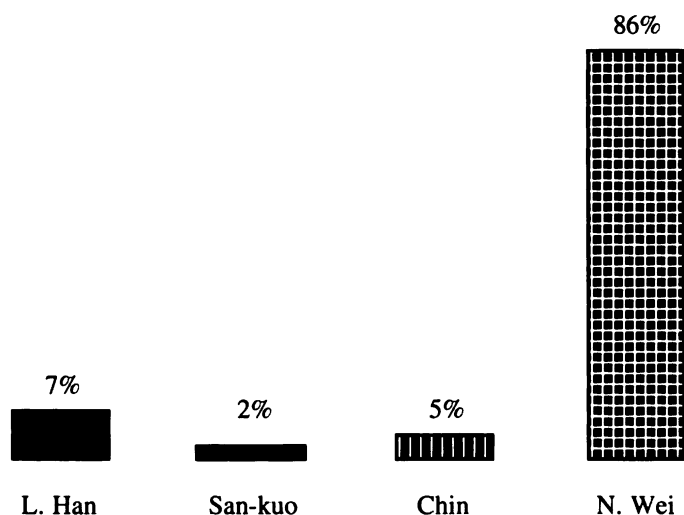


Chart 7c: Origins of clans of military office-holders, Rank 1

¹⁸⁵ The Lan-ling Hsiao, the Hung-nung Yangs and the P'eng-ch'eng Lius have been discounted due to reasons explained above.

Judging from the backgrounds of office-holders with Rank 1, T'o-pa Wei society was extremely fluid. The highest levels of the state bureaucracy were even more open to newcomers than the offices of local Arbiters.

Under the T'o-pa Wei, a larger number of Arbiters also held an office with Rank 1 than under any other early medieval dynasty. Below is a list of all these individuals, with their choronyms and the highest official titles held by their fathers and grandfathers:

Individuals who held military or civilian posts with Rank 1 and the office of the Arbiter

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Ch'ang-sun Sung	Tai-chün	3	—	WS 25/643
Chia Ssu-t'ung	Ch'i-chün	4	—	WS 72/1615
Erh-chu Shih-lung	Pei-hsiu	(uncle 2)	3	WS 75/1668
Fan Tzu-ku	Tai-chün	5	—	WS 80/1777
Fei Mu	Tai-chün	3	3	WS 44/1003
Feng Chin	Po-hai	—	5	WS 94/2033
Hou Kang	Ho-nan	3	—	WS 93/2004
Hsin Hsiung	Lung-hsi	5	—	WS 77/1691
Kao Chao	Po-hai	5	—	WS 83/1829
Li Shen	Hung-nung	3	—	WS 70/1561
Li Ch'ien	Lung-hsi	3	1	WS 39/889
Li Shao	Lung-hsi	3	1	WS 39/886
Li Ch'ung	Tun-ch'iu	—	—	WS 66/1465
Lu Tao-ch'ien	Fan-yang	3	3	WS 47/1051
Lu Tao-yüeh	Fan-yang	3	3	WS 47/1052
Lu T'ung	Fan-yang	low	(uncle 2)	WS 76/1681
Mu Liang	Tai-chün	1	1	WS 27/667
Mu Shao	Tai-chün	1	1	WS 27/671
Tsu Ying	Fan-yang	4	5	WS 82/1798
Ts'ui Kuang	Ch'ing-ho	3	5	WS 67/1487
Ts'ui Hsiao-fen	Po-ling	3	5	WS 57/1266
Yang K'uan	Hung-nung	3	(uncle 3)	WS 58/1303
Yü Tsuan	Ch'ang-li	3	2	WS 33/782
Yü Chung	Tai-chün	1	2	WS 31/741
Yüan Ssu-li	Tai-chün	1	Prince ¹⁸⁶	WS 41/923

¹⁸⁶ Yüan Ssu-li was Yüan Ho's second son. Prince T'u-fa-ju-t'an would have been his grandfather.

There were twenty-five Arbiters who held an office with Rank 1 during the T'o-pa Wei dynasty. Only six of them belonged to the old bureaucratic elite. Those were the three Fang-yang Lus, whose clan was an old Later Han clan; Ts'ui Kuang from Ch'ing-ho, whose clan had originated during the Three Kingdoms period; Ts'ui Hsiao-fen, who belonged to the old Later Han clan; and Yang K'uan whose clan claimed to be from Hung-nung, which would make him a member of one of the oldest Later Han clans.¹⁸⁷ The Fan-yang Lus, in particular, seem to have been able to control both types of office.

In addition to the twenty-five Arbiters who attained the highest official posts with Rank 1 themselves, twelve others belonged to clans whose other members attained high offices with Rank 1. Those clans were: the Chengs from Hsing-yang, the K'ou clan from Shang-ku, the Kuo clan from T'ai-yüan, the Li clan from Chao-chün, the Li clan from Chung-shan, the Liu clan from P'eng-ch'eng, the Lu clan from Tai-chün, the Ssu-ma clan from Ho-nei, the Tiao clan from Po-hai, the Wang clan from Lang-ya, the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan, and the Yu clan from Kuang-p'ing. Exactly half of them were already established bureaucratic clans at this time: the Chengs since the Later Han times; the Kuos since the Three Dynasties period; the Ssu-mas, Tiaos and the Lang-ya Wangs since the immediately preceding Chin dynasty. The T'ai-yüan Wangs were an old Later Han clan, but the Wangs prominent at this time were not direct descendants of the ones well known in the past. In a separate case, some P'eng-ch'eng Lius were mentioned in the *Chin shu*, but they were not the direct ancestors of the Lius known during the T'o-pa Wei period.

All in all, thirty-three clans produced both Arbiters and office-holders with Rank 1 under the T'o-pa rule — a relatively high number, since there were one hundred and forty-eight recorded Arbiter appointments, one hundred and twenty-one civilian posts with Rank 1 and one hundred and sixty-two military posts with Rank 1 awarded during this time. On the other hand, since only 28% of the Arbiters, 8% of the civilian office-holders and 14% of the military office-holders came from the already established bureaucratic elite, this number, to a large degree, reveals merely the proportion of new clans which were able to amass enough power to establish themselves in both types of office.

That holding an office of Arbiter did not translate directly into a monopoly of high offices is best illustrated by the cases of the Liu clan from Ho-tung, six of whose members were posted as Arbiters, but not a single one attained an office with Rank 1, and the P'ei clan from Ho-tung, which held eight Arbiter posts without a single appointment in the highest echelons of the state bureaucracy. Just a little more successful were the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis, who managed to translate ten Arbiter appointments into one military post with Rank 1.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ The authors of the *Wei shu* were apparently unable to confirm this claim.

¹⁸⁸ An additional military post, and two civilian posts with Rank 1 were secured for the Tung-ch'ing-ho branch of the clan.

EASTERN WEI / NORTHERN CH'I

The Northern Ch'i dynasty, which for the first sixteen years of its existence (A.D. 534-550) ruled as the Eastern Wei dynasty,¹⁸⁹ completely took over the bureaucracy of the T'o-pa Wei dynasty. After the establishment of the Northern Ch'i in A.D. 550, the Wei ranking system created in A.D. 499 remained in use, with all its characteristics. In A.D. 560, the Northern Ch'i added the office of Chancellor (*ch'eng-hsiang*). All offices were divided into nine ranks, with Rank 1 the highest, and with each rank subdivided into two categories: the Full Rank (*cheng-p'in*), and the Lower Rank (*ts'ung-p'in*). Offices of both Full Ranks and Lower Ranks of Rank 4 and below were further subdivided into two "classes"—the Upper Class (*shang-chieh*), and the Lower Class (*hsia-chieh*). The following table distinguishes Full Ranks and Lower Ranks by marking them as Rank 1a and 1b.

Office	In Chinese	Rank
Grand Preceptor	<i>t'ai-shih</i>	1a
Grand Mentor	<i>t'ai-fu</i>	1a
Grand Guardian	<i>t'ai-pao</i>	1a
Commander-in-chief	<i>ta ssu-ma</i>	1a
General-in-chief	<i>ta Chiang-chün</i>	1a
Defender-in-chief	<i>t'ai-wei kung</i>	1a
Minister of Education	<i>ssu-t'u kung</i>	1a
Minister of Works	<i>ssu-k'ung kung</i>	1a
Commander Unequaled in Honor	<i>k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu</i>	1b
Chancellor	<i>ch'eng-hsiang</i>	1b
Cavalry General-in-chief	<i>p'iao-chi ta Chiang-chün</i>	1b
Chariot and Horse General-in-chief	<i>ch'e-chi ta Chiang-chün</i>	1b

Arbiters

There were twenty-five recorded appointments to the office of Arbiter under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i — nine under the short-lived Eastern Wei (A.D. 534-557), and fifteen under the only slightly longer Northern Ch'i (A.D. 557-577). Below is a combined list of the individuals who held the posts: their choronyms, highest official ranks, and the highest ranks held by their fathers.

¹⁸⁹ The name distinguishes it from the T'o-pa Wei, also known as the Northern Wei, as its rulers at first claimed to be preserving the Wei Empire, while not being descendants of the T'o-pa house.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Choronym</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Father's Rank</u>	<u>Source</u>
Chang Liang	Hsi-ho	1	—	PCS 25/360
Chang Tsun-yeh	Tai-chün	3	1	PCS 20/265
Chao Yen-shen	Kao-yang	1	—	PCS 38/505
Kao Chi-shih	Po-hai	2	3	PCS 21/289
Kao Yung-lo	Po-hai	3	2	PCS 21/298
Li Chih-lien	Po-hai	1	4	PCS 43/571
Liu Kuei-hsiu	Hsing-yang	4	3	PCS 19/250
Liu Yüan-sun	Hsing-yang	5	4	PCS 19/250
Lu Yin	Li-yang	4	—	PCS 35/469
Ma Ching-teh	Ho-chien	2	—	PCS 44/590
Pao Hsien	Wei-chün	1	3	PCS 41/535
T'ang Yung	T'ai-yüan	1	—	PCS 40/530
Tou Yüan	Liao-hsi	2	—	WS 88/1907
Ts'ui Chan	Ch'ing-ho	1	1	PCS 23/335
Ts'ui Chieh	Ch'ing-ho	1	1	PCS 42/558
Ts'ui Ling	Ch'ing-ho	1	3	PCS 23/333
Tuan Shen	Ku-tsang	1	1	PCS 16/208
Wang Chün	Ling-ch'iu	1	—	PCS 25/363
Wang Sung-nien	? ¹⁹⁰	3	—	PCS 35/470
Wei Ming-lang	Chü-lu	3	(uncle 1)	PCS 23/332
Wei Shou	Chü-lu	2	5	PCS 37/483
Yang Lieh	T'ai-shan	2	5	PCS 43/575
Yang Hsiu-chih	Yu-pei-p'ing	1	4	PCS 42/560
Yüan Yü-hsiu	Ch'en-chün	1	3	PCS 42/564
Yüan Piao	Hsi-p'ing	1	1	PCS 43/577

Of the twenty-five Arbiters appointed under the Eastern Wei/ Northern Ch'i, nine (36%) belonged to clans who managed to hold more than one Arbiter office at this time.

The Ts'ui clan from Ch'ing-ho managed to secure three Arbiter posts for its members. All three Arbiters also held offices with Rank 1. The Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis, who first emerged on the national scene during the Three Kingdoms period, were no doubt still very powerful at this time.

Three clans held two appointments to the office of Arbiter each during this period: the Kaos from Po-hai, the Lius from Hsing-yang, and the Weis from Chü-lu. All three clans were new to the ruling circle, their ancestors never having been mentioned in historical sources prior to this short-lived dynasty.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Wang Sung-nien's biography in PCS 35/470 gives no choronym.

¹⁹¹ Some Kaos from Po-hai, T'iao, were already mentioned in the *Wei shu*, but their relationship with the Kaos of this period cannot be established.

The remaining sixteen Arbiter posts went to individuals who were the only Arbiter-post holders in their respective clans. With the exception of Yang Lieh from T'ai-shan, whose clan was an old Later Han bureaucratic clan, and of Yüan Yü-hsiu from Ch'en-chün whose clan originated during the Three Kingdoms period, all other Arbiters were newcomers to officialdom.¹⁹² In all, only five out of twenty-five (20%) of all Arbiters appointed under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i belonged to established bureaucratic clans. 80% of Arbiter posts went to people new to the ruling circle, so that northern society at this time also seems to have been much more fluid than in the South.

The following chart illustrates the origins of the clans of all Arbiters during the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i period:

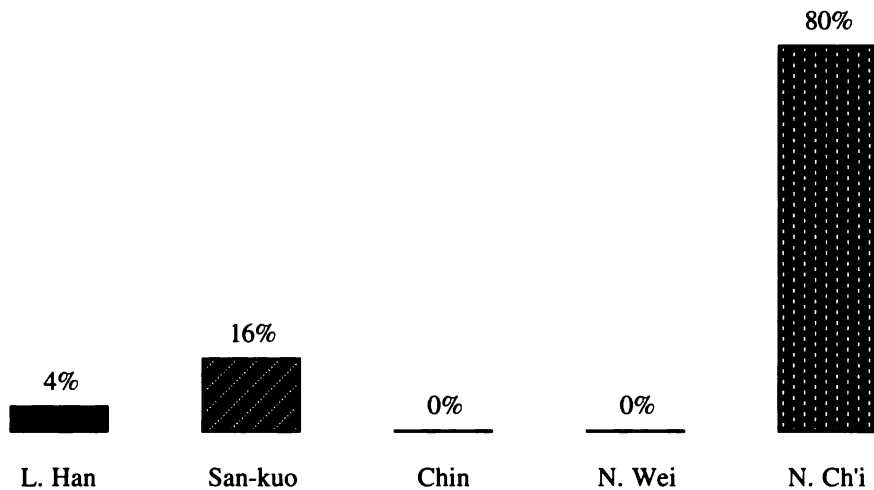


Chart 8a: Origins of clans of the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i Arbiters

The number of Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i Arbiters whose clans rose to power with the dynasty under which they served was even higher than during the T'o-pa Wei. (We may recall that a little under 72% of the T'o-pa Wei Arbiters belonged to previously unestablished clans). Curiously, none of the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i Arbiters belonged to clans who first came to national prominence during the two preceding dynasties: the Chin and the T'o-pa Wei. In the South, "old and established clan" often meant one that had originated during the previous dynasty, but in the North, as we can see, it really meant old Later Han and Three Kingdoms' clans. But apart from the small number of posts that went to these venerable bureaucratic clans, most of the appointments were open to people that were ready to serve the new dynasty.

¹⁹² Some Lis from Po-hai and Yangs from Yu-peï-p'ing were mentioned in the *Wei shu*, but they cannot be connected to Li Chih-lien and Yang Hsiu-chih, two Arbiters during this period.

So, as under the T'o-pa Wei, the office of Arbiter was used to extend the influence of newly risen clans — not to entrench the interests of an already established bureaucratic elite. And, like the T'o-pa Wei Arbiters, Arbiters under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i on average held much higher offices than their counterparts in the South: thirteen of them (52%) held office with Rank 1; five held office with Rank 2 (20% — this means that 72% of the Arbiters held offices above the middle level in the central bureaucracy); four (only 16%) held the middle-level posts with Rank 3; two held offices with Rank 4; and only one held an office with Rank 5. Only three, or 12% of the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i Arbiters, held offices with a rank below the middle level.

Offices with Rank 1

We have already witnessed the proliferation in the number of titles with Rank 1, both civilian and military, under the T'o-pa regime, and we sought to explain the phenomenon by the fact that some of the titles were inherited during that time. One must also bear in mind that the T'o-pa control of Northern China lasted much longer than the terms of any of the corresponding Southern Dynasties. Nothing, however, prepared us for the sudden proliferation of the titles with Rank 1 under the short-lived Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i dynasty. The award of seventy-six civilian titles with Rank 1, and eighty-five military titles with Rank 1 was recorded for this period. Once again the title of Commander Unequaled in Honor (*k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu*) was both military and civilian in character and it had Rank 1b. Many individuals held both civilian and military titles with Rank 1 due to this title.

Below are lists of all the individuals who held civilian and military titles with Rank 1, listed separately, with the choronym for each individual, and the highest official titles held by his father and grandfather.

Civilian posts with Rank 1

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Chao Yen-shen	Nan-yang ¹⁹³	—	—	PCS 38/505
Ch'i-fu Kuei-ho	?	—	—	PCS 19/258
Ch'i-fu Ling-ho	?	—	—	PCS 19/258
Fan Lo	Kuang-ning	—	—	PCS 15/201
Fan She-lo	Tai-chün	—	—	PCS 20/282
Han Wan-sui	Ch'ang-li	4	—	PCS 50/692
Han Pao-hsing	Ch'ang-li	3	4	PCS 50/692
Han Pao-hsin	Ch'ang-li	3	4	PCS 50/692

¹⁹³ This choronym was self-claimed.

Han Kuei	T'ai-an	—	—	PCS 15/200
Ho-pa Yün	Shen-wu	4	4	PCS 19/245
Hou-mo-ch'en Hsiang	Tai-chün	3	5	PCS 19/259
Hsiao Ming	Lan-ling	1 ¹⁹⁴	?	PCS 33/441
Hsien-yü Shih-jung	Yü-yang	5	—	PCS 41/539
Hsü Tun	Kao-yang	5	—	PCS 43/574
Hsüeh Hsiu-i	Ho-tung	5	4	PCS 20/275
Hsüeh-ku Yen	Tai-chün	—	—	PCS 19/255
Hu Seng-ching	An-ting	? ¹⁹⁵	—	PCS 48/669
Hu-lü Chin	Shuo-chou	3	3	PCS 17/219
Hu-lü Hsien	Shuo-chou	1	3	PCS 17/227
Hu-lü Hsü-ta	Shuo-chou	1	3	PCS 17/226
Hu-lü Kuang	Shuo-chou	1	3	PCS 17/222
Hu-lü P'ing	Shuo-chou	1	1	PCS 17/228
Hu-lü Shih-hsiung	Shuo-chou	1	3	PCS 17/226
Hu-lü Wu-tu	Shuo-chou	1	1	PCS 17/226
Hu-lü Hsiao-ch'ing	T'ai-an	2	3	PCS 20/267
Jen Yen-ching	Kuang-ning	(uncle 5)	—	PCS 19/251
Kao Lung-chih ¹⁹⁶	Kao-p'ing ¹⁹⁷	5	—	PCS 18/235
Kao Ang	Po-hai	3	—	PCS 21/293
Kao Kan	Po-hai	3	—	PCS 21/289
Kao Shen	Po-hai	3	—	PCS 21/292
Kao Tao-huo	Po-hai	1	3	PCS 21/295
Kao A-na-kung	Shan-wu	1	—	PCS 50/690
K'o-chu-hun T'ien-ho	? ¹⁹⁸	? ¹⁹⁹	—	PCS 34/460
K'o-chu-hun Yüan	Liao-tung ²⁰⁰	—	—	PCS 27/376
Liu Shih-ch'ing	Tai-chün	2	4	PCS 20/267
Lou Chao	Tai-chün	— ²⁰¹	—	PCS 15/196
Lou Jui	Tai-chün	3	—	PCS 15/197
Lou Ting-yüan	Tai-chün	1	—	PCS 15/196
Lou Tzu-yen	Tai-chün	1	3	PCS 15/197
Lu Fa-ho	? ²⁰²	—	—	PCS 32/427
Mo-to-lou Ching-hsien	T'ai-an	1	—	PCS 19/253

¹⁹⁴ His father was the Liang Prince 1 of Ch'ang-sha, Liang Emperor Wu's eldest brother. PCS 33/441.

¹⁹⁵ He was the Eastern Wei Emperor Hsiao-ching's maternal uncle. PCS 48/669.

¹⁹⁶ His original surname was Hsü. His father Kan was raised by the relatives of his father's sister through marriage surnamed Kao, and he took on their family name.

¹⁹⁷ Kao Lung-chih claimed to be from Kao-p'ing, Chin-hsiang. PCS 18/235.

¹⁹⁸ No choronym is given. T'ien-ho's biography says that he was Tao-yüan's youngest son, but the only other K'o-chu-hun mentioned in the *Pei Ch'i shu* is Yüan. It is possible that the long alien name was abbreviated by mistake. PCS 34/460.

¹⁹⁹ If his father was Yüan and not Tao-yüan, then his rank was 1.

²⁰⁰ Yüan claimed to be from Liao-tung. PCS 27/376.

²⁰¹ He was posthumously awarded the official title of the Minister of Education by the Wei court. PCS 15/196.

²⁰² PCS 32/427 states that Lu Fa-ho's choronym was unknown.

Mu-jung Yen	Ch'ing-tu ²⁰³	5	—	PCS 20/279
P'an Lo	Kuang-ning	— ²⁰⁴	—	PCS 15/201
Pao Hsien	Wei-chün	3	4	PCS 41/535
P'i Ching-ho	Lang-ya	5	—	PCS 41/536
P'i Hsin	Lang-ya	1	5	PCS 41/538
P'o-liu-han	Fu-hua	1	—	PCS 27/378
Pu-ta-han Sa	T'ai-an	3	—	PCS 20/278
She-ti Sheng	Huai-shuo	—	—	PCS 19/255
She-ti Kan	Shan-wu	—	—	PCS 15/197
She-ti Shih-wen	Shan-wu	1	—	PCS 15/198
She-ti Fu-lien	Tai-chün	—	—	PCS 20/283
Ssu-ma Tzu-ju ²⁰⁵	Ho-nei	5	—	PCS 18/238
Sun Feng-chen	Hsien-yang	1	—	PCS 18/235
Sun T'eng	Hsien-yang	—	—	PCS 18/233
T'ang Chün-ming	T'ai-yüan	2	—	PCS 40/532
Tieh She-lo	Wu-wei	—	—	PCS 20/282
Tsu T'ing	Fan-yang	3	—	PCS 39/513
Tuan Hsiao-yen	Ku-tsang	2	5	PCS 16/214
Tuan Shao	Ku-tsang	2	5	PCS 16/208
Tuan Teh-heng	Ku-tsang	1	2	PCS 16/214
Tu-ku Yung-yeh ²⁰⁶	Chung-shan	—	—	PCS 41/544
Wang Lin	K'uai-chi	5	—	PCS 32/431
Wang Chün	Ling-ch'iu	—	—	PCS 25/363
Wang Hung	T'ai-an	4	—	PCS 25/365
Wang Shih-liang	T'ai-yüan	5	5	CHO 36/638
Wan-ssu P'u	T'ai-p'ing	—	—	PCS 27/375
Wei Lan-ken	Chü-lu	5	—	PCS 23/329
Wei Ching	Shan-wu	—	—	PCS 15/194
Wei Ts'an	Shan-wu	1	—	PCS 15/195
Yang Yin	Hung-nung	1	—	PCS 34/453
Yang Hsiu-chih	Yu-pei-p'ing	low	—	PCS 42/560
Yüan Ching-an	Ho-nan	2	—	PCS 41/542
Yüan Hui-yeh	Ho-nan	—	—	PCS 28/386
Yüan Shao	Ho-nan	(uncle 1)	1	PCS 28/388
Yüan T'an	Ho-nan ²⁰⁷	1	1	PCS 28/383

²⁰³ Mao Han-kuang gives his choronym as Ch'ing-ho, An-ch'eng in *Liang Chin nan-pei ch'ao*, vol. 2, p. 645. PCS 20/279 gives it as Ch'ing-tu, Ch'eng-an.

²⁰⁴ P'an Lo's father Yung was T'o-pa Wei Baron of Kuang-tsung. PCS 15/201 does not mention any of his official titles.

²⁰⁵ His ancestor in the eighth generation was the Chin Minister of Works, Prince of Nan-yang, Mo.

²⁰⁶ Yung-yeh's original surname was Liu. When his mother remarried into the Tu-ku clan he followed her, was raised by the Tu-kus, and adopted their name. PCS 41/544.

²⁰⁷ The Yüans of Ho-nan were descendants of the T'o-pa Wei ruling house. Although PCS 28 does not specify a choronym, some other T'o-pa descendants have used Ho-nan, and I follow their example.

Military posts with Rank 1

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Chan Hsin	Tai-chün	4	—	PCS 20/265
Chang Ching-jen	Chi-pei	—	—	PCS 44/591
Chang Liang	Hsi-ho	—	—	PCS 25/360
Ch'i-fu Kuei-ho	?	—	—	PCS 19/258
Ch'i-fu Ling-ho	?	—	—	PCS 19/258
Ch'i-lien Meng	Tai-chün	5	—	PCS 41/539
Chih-lieh P'ing	Tai-chün	—	—	PCS 20/278
Chih-lieh Ch'ang-ch'a	Tai-chün	1	—	PCS 20/278
Chin Tso	An-ting	—	—	PCS 27/379
Fan She-lo	Tai-chün	—	—	PCS 20/282
Feng Tzu-hui	Po-hai	2	1	PCS 21/303
Feng Fu-hsiang	?	—	—	PCS 19/259
Fu Fu	T'ai-an	2	—	PCS 41/545
Han Wan-sui	Ch'ang-li	4	—	PCS 50/692
Han Pao-hsing	Ch'ang-li	3	4	PCS 50/692
Han Pao-hsin	Ch'ang-li	3	4	PCS 50/692
Han Chien-yeh	?	—	—	PCS 19/259
Han Kuei	T'ai-an	1	—	PCS 15/200
Hou-mo-ch'en Chin-kuei	Tai-chün	1	3	PCS 19/259
Hsien-yü Shih-jung	Yü-yang	5	—	PCS 41/539
Hsü Tun	Kao-yang	5	—	PCS 43/574
Hsüeh Hsiu-i	Ho-tung	5	4	PCS 20/275
Hsüeh-ku Yen	Tai-chün	—	—	PCS 19/255
Hu-lü Chin	Shuo-chou	3	3	PCS 17/219
Hu-lü Hsien	Shuo-chou	1	3	PCS 17/227
Hu-lü Hsü-ta	Shuo-chou	1	1	PCS 17/226
Hu-lü Kuang	Shuo-chou	1	3	PCS 17/222
Hu-lü P'ing	Shuo-chou	1	1	PCS 17/228
Hu-lü Shih-hsiung	Shuo-chou	1	1	PCS 17/226
Hu-lü Wu-tu	Shuo-chou	1	1	PCS 17/226
Hu-lü Hsiao-ch'ing	T'ai-an	2	3	PCS 20/267
Jen Yen-ching	Kuang-ning	(uncle 5)	—	PCS 19/251
Kao Lung-chih	Kao-p'ing	5	—	PCS 18/235
Kao Shih-kuei	Shan-wu	—	—	PCS 19/254
Kao Ang	Po-hai	3	—	PCS 21/293
Kao Kan	Po-hai	3	—	PCS 21/289
Kao Shen	Po-hai	3	—	PCS 21/292
Kao Tao-huo	Po-hai	1	3	PCS 21/295
Kao Shih-kuei	Shan-wu	—	—	PCS 19/254
K'o-chu-hun T'ien-ho	?	?	—	PCS 34/460
K'o-chu-hun Yüan	Liao-tung	—	—	PCS 27/376

Li Chung-yüan	Chao-chün	4	2	PCS 22/313
Liu Shih-ch'ing	Tai-chün	2	4	PCS 20/267
Lou Chao	Tai-chün	—	—	PCS 15/196
Lou Jui	Tai-chün	3	—	PCS 15/197
Lou Tzu-yen	Tai-chün	1	3	PCS 15/197
Mo-to-lou Tai-wen	T'ai-an	—	—	PCS 19/252
Mu-jung Yen	Ch'ing-tu	5	—	PCS 20/279
Pao Hsien	Wei-chün	3	4	PCS 41/535
P'i Ching-ho	Lang-ya	5	—	PCS 41/536
P'i Hsin	Lang-ya	1	5	PCS 41/538
P'o-liu-han	Fu-hua	1	—	PCS 27/378
Pu-ta-han Sa	T'ai-an	3	—	PCS 20/278
She-ti Sheng	Huai-shuo	—	—	PCS 19/255
She-ti Shih-wen	Shan-wu	1	—	PCS 15/198
She-ti Fu-lien	Tai-chün	—	—	PCS 20/283
Ssu-ma Tzu-ju	Ho-nei	5	—	PCS 18/238
Sun T'eng	Hsien-yang	—	—	PCS 18/233
Sun Feng-chen	Hsien-yang	1	—	PCS 18/235
T'ang Chün-ming	T'ai-yüan	2	—	PCS 40/532
Tieh She-lo	Wu-wei	—	—	PCS 20/282
T'ien Ching-hsüan	? ²⁰⁸	—	—	PCS 41/547
Tsu T'ing	Fan-yang	3	—	PCS 39/513
Ts'ui Chan	Ch'ing-ho	1	3	PCS 23/335
Ts'ui Ling	Ch'ing-ho	3	—	PCS 23/333
Tuan Hsiao-yen	Ku-tsang	2	5	PCS 16/214
Tuan Pao-ting	Ku-tsang	3	1	PCS 16/214
Tuan Teh-heng	Ku-tsang	1	1	PCS 16/214
Tu-ku Yung-yeh	Chung-shan	—	—	PCS 41/544
Wang Lin	K'uai-chi	low	—	PCS 32/431
Wang Chün	Ling-ch'iu	—	—	PCS 25/363
Wang Hung	T'ai-an	4	—	PCS 25/365
Wang Shih-liang	T'ai-yüan	5	5	CHO 36/638
Wei Lan-ken	Chü-lu	5	—	PCS 23/329
Wei Ching	Shan-wu	—	—	PCS 15/194
Wei Hsiang-yüan	Tai-chün	— ²⁰⁹	—	PCS 19/258
Wei Ch'ang-ming	T'ai-an	5	—	PCS 19/248
Yang Yin	Hung-nung	1	—	PCS 34/453
Yang Hsiu-chih	Yu-pei-p'ing	low	—	PCS 42/560
Yao Hsiung	Shang-tang	low	3	PCS 20/267

²⁰⁸ He was a Man barbarian. PCS 41/547.

²⁰⁹ *Pei Ch'i shu* says that Wei Hsiang-yüan's father Piao attained high office, but never states what office it was. Piao was enfeoffed as Prince of Hai-ch'ang. PCS 19/258.

Yao Chieh	Shang-tang	—	3	PCS 20/270
Yüan Piao	Hsi-p'ing	1	—	PCS 43/577
Yüan Ching-an	Ho-nan	2	—	PCS 41/542
Yüan Hui-yeh	Ho-nan	—	—	PCS 28/386
Yüan T'an	Ho-nan	1	1	PCS 28/383

Seventy-six individuals held civilian titles with Rank 1, and eighty-five held military titles with Rank 1. Sixty of them held either the title of Commander Unequaled in Honor (*k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu*), held by forty-five people, or both civilian and military titles with Rank 1, held by fifteen. This leaves sixteen people who held only a civilian title, and twenty-five who held only a military title of the highest rank.

Of the seventy-six civilian titles with Rank 1, thirty-three (over 43%) went to clans who held more than one such title. Of the eighty-five military titles of the same rank, thirty-four (exactly 40%) went to clans who held more than one such title. The highest-ranking titles of the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i bureaucracy were not as dominated by a limited group of clans as under the preceding T'o-pa Wei (where the figures were, in both cases, 69%).

Among civilian office title-holders, the clans with most appointments were: the Hsü-lü clan from Shuo-chou, with seven appointments; the Kao clan from Po-hai, the Lou clan from Tai-chün, and the Yüan clan from Ho-nan (each with four appointments); the Han clan from Ch'ang-li and the Tuan clan from Ku-tsang (each with three appointments). Only the Tai-chün Lous and the Ho-nan Yüans were already established bureaucratic clans at this time, the Lous having emerged as a prominent clan under the T'o-pa Wei rulers, and the Yüans being descendants of the T'o-pa Wei imperial clan itself. A powerful Kao clan from Po-hai emerged on the national scene under the T'o-pas as well, but the Kaos who were prominent under the new Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i rule were apparently not related to them.²¹⁰

Among military office title-holders, the clans with most appointments were: the Hsü-lü clan from Shuo-chou, with seven appointments; the Kao clan from Po-hai (with four appointments); the Han clan from Ch'ang-li, the Lou clan from Tai-chün, the Tuan clan from Ku-tsang, and the Yüan clan from Ho-nan (each with three appointments). The origins of all these clans were already discussed in the preceding paragraph. The clans that most dominated the highest echelons of bureaucracy under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i were new clans that were just emerging on the political scene. The very few exceptions were clans that had emerged during the preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty.

²¹⁰ The Kaos of this period mention an ancestor, I, who was a District Marquis under the T'o-pa Wei, but he is not mentioned in the T'o-pa Wei sources.

If we now look at all the seventy-six individuals who held civilian offices with Rank 1 under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i, we find that only fourteen came from already established bureaucratic clans (eight clans in all) — two of the clans, the Lan-ling Hsiao and the Kao-yang Hsüs, were in fact well established Southern clans. The other old clans included the Tai-chün Lous and Ho-nan Yüans discussed above; both attained prominence during the T'o-pa Wei period (the Yüans were the T'o-pa imperial clan itself), and both had four appointments each. The remaining individuals came from the old clans of the Ho-tung Hsüehs (who emerged under the T'o-pa Wei), the Ho-nei Ssu-mas (the Chin imperial clan), the Fan-yang Tsus (who emerged under the T'o-pa Wei), and the Hung-nung Yangs (an old Later Han clan).²¹¹

All in all, just over 18% of all civilian office-holders with Rank 1 under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i belonged to the established bureaucratic elite.

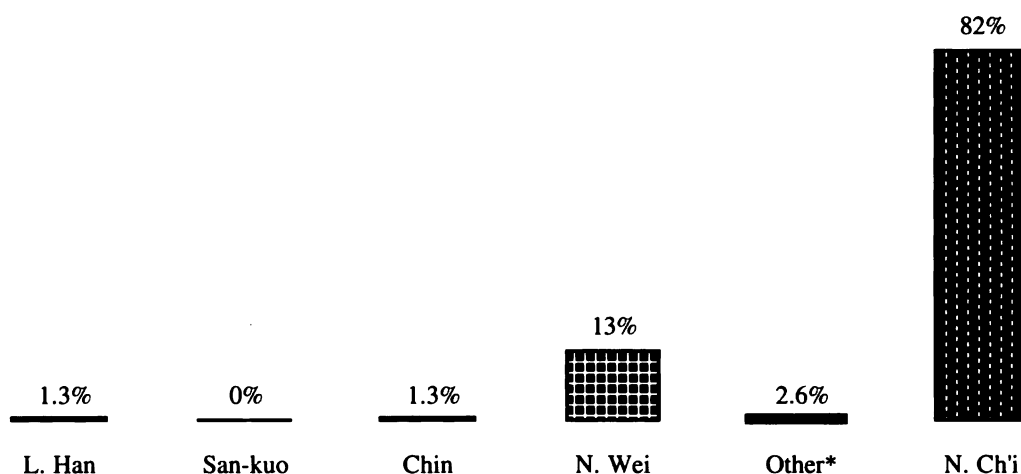
Of the eighty-five individuals who held military offices with Rank 1 under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i, only seventeen came from already established bureaucratic clans (eleven clans in all). One of the clans, the Kao-yang Hsüs, was a well established Southern clan. The other old clans included the Tai-chün Lous and Ho-nan Yüans; both attained prominence during the T'o-pa Wei period (the Yüans were the T'o-pa imperial clan itself), and both had three military appointments each. The remaining individuals belonged to the old bureaucratic clans of the Po-hai Fengs (who emerged under the T'o-pa Wei), Ho-tung Hsüehs (who emerged under the T'o-pa Wei), the Chao-chün Lis (who emerged under the T'o-pa Wei), the Ho-nei Ssu-mas (the Chin imperial clan), the Fan-yang Tsus (who emerged under the T'o-pa Wei), the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis (who emerged during the Three Kingdoms period), the Hung-nung Yangs (an old Later Han clan),²¹² and the Shang-tang Yaos (who emerged under the T'o-pa Wei).

All in all, 20% of all military office-holders with Rank 1 under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i belonged to the already established bureaucratic elite. Moreover, although this number is low in itself, most of the "already established elite" had just emerged during the preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty.

Below are two charts that illustrate the origins of the clans of all the individuals who held offices with Rank 1 during the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i period:

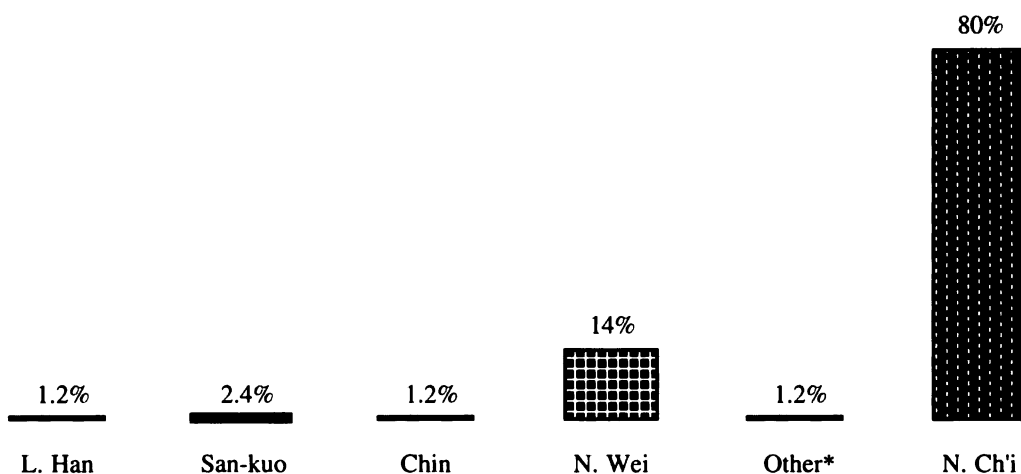
²¹¹ See above about the claims of T'o-pa Wei Hung-nung Yangs. In addition to the above clans, there is one Wang Shih-liang from T'ai-yüan, whose Northern Ch'i title is mentioned in his biography in CHO 36/638. His ancestors were from T'ai-yüan, Chin-yang, the biography says, but they fled during the Chin disturbances, and returned only under the T'o-pa Wei. None of his ancestors, however, are mentioned in the *Wei shu*, and the T'ai-yüan Wangs who have biographies in the *Wei shu* only claim to be from T'ai-yüan, Chin-yang, without, apparently, any proof of it. The Tai-yüan Wangs flourished under the Chin dynasty, but their influence thereafter declined. None of the individuals with biographies in the dynastic histories of the Northern dynasties can be directly connected with them. During the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i dynasty, therefore, they were not a powerful clan.

²¹² See above about the claims of T'o-pa Wei Hung-nung Yangs.



* The Southern dynasties. Clans well-established in the South are included in this category.

Chart 8b: Origins of clans of civilian office-holders with Rank 1



* The Southern dynasties. Clans well-established in the South are included in this category.

Chart 8c: Origins of clans of military office-holders with Rank 1

Judging from the backgrounds of office-holders with Rank 1, Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i society was almost as fluid as T'o-pa Wei society. (We will recall that 92% of all civilian and 86% of all military T'o-pa posts with Rank 1 went to members of new clans). The highest levels of the state bureaucracy at this time were as open, or even more open to newcomers than the offices of local Arbiters. Unlike Arbi-

ters who belonged to old bureaucratic clans however (in most cases literally old Later Han and Three Kingdoms' clans), the "already established" bureaucratic clans of office-holders had in most cases originated during the preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty.

Seven of the twenty-five Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i Arbiters also held an office with Rank 1. Below is a list of all such individuals, with their choronyms and the highest official titles held by their fathers and grandfathers:

Individuals who held military or civilian posts with Rank 1 and the office of the Arbiter

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Chang Liang	Hsi-ho	1	—	PCS 25/360
Pao Hsien	Wei-chün	1	3	PCS 41/535
Ts'ui Chan	Ch'ing-ho	1	1	PCS 23/335
Ts'ui Ling	Ch'ing-ho	1	3	PCS 23/333
Wang Chün	Ling-ch'iu	1	—	PCS 25/363
Yang Hsiu-chih	Yu-pei-p'ing	1	4	PCS 42/560
Yüan Piao	Hsi-p'ing	1	1	PCS 43/577

We observe immediately that the fathers of all seven held official posts with Rank 1. Only two of the seven, however, belonged to the old bureaucratic elite — the two Ts'uis from Ch'ing-ho, whose clan first emerged as a prominent clan during the preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty.

In addition to the seven Arbiters who attained the highest official posts with Rank 1 themselves, seven others belonged to clans whose other members attained high offices with Rank 1. One of them, Ts'ui Chieh, belonged to the Ch'ing-ho clan mentioned above. The other clans were: the Kao clan from Po-hai (with two Arbiters); the T'ang clan from T'ai-yüan; the Tuan clan from Ku-tsang; and the Wei clan from Chü-lu (with two Arbiters). None of them were already established at this time

In all, ten clans produced both Arbiters and office-holders with Rank 1 under the T'o-pa rule — not a low number, since there were twenty-five recorded Arbiter appointments, seventy-six civilian posts with Rank 1 and eighty-five military posts with Rank 1 awarded during this time. On the other hand, since only one of the ten clans — the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis — already belonged to the established bureaucratic elite, this figure does not mean that the high state bureaucracy was closed to new people.

WESTERN WEI / NORTHERN CHOU

Emperor T'ai-tsu of the Western Wei/Northern Chou kept the T'o-pa Wei official titles when he first took over the Kuan-nei region in northern Shensi and claimed to be the successor to the Wei Empire (his dynasty was later called the Western Wei, to distinguish it from its predecessor, the T'o-pa Wei, also known as the Northern Wei, and its competitor, the Eastern Wei that was to become the Northern Ch'i).²¹³ But he soon issued the order for a new system of bureaucracy to be established, and so in A.D. 556, toward the end of the twenty-two year long period during which they ruled as the Western Wei, the Chou implemented a unique system of classifying offices into nine grades called *ming*, in keeping with the ancient Chou ranking system for aristocracy.²¹⁴

The *ming* grades were divided into Inner Grades (*nei-ming*) awarded to state officials, and Outer Grades (*wai-ming*) used to classify nobles and their employees. In both groups, Grade 9 was the highest. Official salaries for each grade were determined in terms of bushels (*shih*), and they ran as follows:

Office	In Chinese	Grade (<i>ming</i>)	Salary (bushels)
The Three Dukes	<i>san-kung</i>	9	10,000 <i>shih</i>
The Three Solitaries	<i>san-ku</i>	8	8,000 <i>shih</i>
The Six Ministers	<i>liu-ch'ing</i>	7	6,000 <i>shih</i>
Senior Grand Masters	<i>shang ta-fu</i>	6	4,000 <i>shih</i>
Ordinary Grand Masters	<i>chung ta-fu</i>	5	2,000 <i>shih</i>
Junior Grand Masters	<i>hsia ta-fu</i>	4	1,000 <i>shih</i>
Senior Servicemen	<i>shang-shih</i>	3	500 <i>shih</i>
Ordinary Servicemen	<i>chung-shih</i>	2	250 <i>shih</i>
Junior Servicemen	<i>hsia-shih</i>	1	125 <i>shih</i>

There was a further reform of the Chou titles toward the end of the dynasty, not recorded in detail in the *Sui shu*, which served as a basis for the preceding table.²¹⁵ The following table of offices with of Rank 1 is based on information provided in the *T'ung-tien*.²¹⁶ The grades were subdivided into Full Grades (*cheng-ming*) and Lower Grades (here only *ming*, with the meaning of *ts'ung-ming*). The distinction between a Full and Lower Grade will be marked as 9a and 9b.

²¹³ The Eastern Wei dynasty lasted from A.D. 534-550, when it took on the name of the Later Ch'i, now generally called the Northern Ch'i (A.D. 550-589) to distinguish it from the Ch'i dynasty established in the South (A.D. 479-502). The Western Wei lasted from A.D. 535-557, when it took on the name of Later Chou, now generally referred to as the Northern Chou (A.D. 557-589). The Northern Ch'i was conquered by the Northern Chou, which in turn abdicated to the founders of Sui Dynasty (A.D. 589-618).

²¹⁴ The ancient Chou dynasty (1122-255 B.C.) divided the aristocracy, including the Feudal Lords (*chu-hou*), into nine grades of Honor (*ch'iu-ming*), with the 9th honor the highest. See Hucker, *A Dictionary*, p. 333, entry #4004.

²¹⁵ *Sui shu*, ch. 27, pp.770-771.

²¹⁶ *T'ung-tien*, vol. 3, ch. 38, p. 28b and ch. 39, p. 29a.

Office	In Chinese	Grade <i>ming</i>	Rank (<i>p'in</i>) equiv.
Grand Preceptor	<i>t'ai-shih</i>	9a	1a
Grand Mentor	<i>t'ai-fu</i>	9a	1a
Grand Guardian	<i>t'ai-pao</i>	9a	1a
Pillar of State and General-in-chief	<i>chu-kuo ta Chiang-chün</i>	9a	1a
General-in-chief	<i>ta Chiang-chün</i>	9a	1a
Cavalry General-in-chief	<i>p'iao-chi ta Chiang-chün</i>	9b	1b
Commander Unequaled in Honor	<i>k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu</i>	9b	1b
Commander-General-in-chief Unequaled in Honor ²¹⁷	<i>k'ai-fu i-t'ung ta Chiang-chün</i>	9b	1b
Chariot and Horse General-in-chief	<i>ch'e-chi ta Chiang-chün</i>	9b	1b
Unequaled in Honor	<i>i-t'ung san-ssu</i>	9b	1b
General-in-chief Unequaled in Honor ²¹⁸	<i>i-t'ung ta Chiang-chün</i>	9b	1b
Regional Governor of Yung-chou	<i>Yung-chou mu</i>	9b	1b

Arbiters

There were twenty-six recorded appointments to the office of Arbiter under the Western Wei/Northern Chou. Below is a list of the individuals who held the posts — their choronyms, highest official ranks, and the highest ranks held by their fathers.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Choronim</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Father's Rank</u>	<u>Source</u>
Chang Kuei	Chi-pei	1	—	CHO 37/664
Ch'en Hsin	I-yang	1	—	CHO 43/777
Chi Chün	T'ai-yüan	1	—	CHO 47/837
Ch'ih-lo Hsieh	Tai-chün	1	—	CHO 11/177
Ch'üan Chung-tsun	Shang-lo	1	1	CHO 44/788
Ch'üan Yüan-li	Shang-lo	1	1	CHO 44/787
Ch'üan Ching-hsüan	T'ien-shui	1	5	CHO 28/477
Han Hsiung	Ho-nan	1	—	CHO 43/776
Han Chung-kung	Nan-yang	5	5	CHO 34/594
Hsin Wei	Lung-hsi	1	2	CHO 27/447
Hsüeh Tuan	Ho-tung	1	3	CHO 35/620

²¹⁷ This title was introduced in A.D. 575. *T'ung-tien*, vol 3, ch. 38, p. 28b.

²¹⁸ This title was introduced in A.D. 575. *T'ung-tien*, vol 3, ch. 38, p. 28b.

Li Pi	Liao-tung	1	5	CHO 15/239
Li Ch'ang	Tun-ch'iu	1	(uncle 4)	CHO 38/686
Liang T'ai	Ch'ang-ch'ih	1	5	CHO 27/452
Ssu-ma I	Ho-nei	1	—	CHO 36/645
Su Liang	Wu-kung	1	5	CHO 38/677
Tou-lu Ning	Ch'ang-li	1	5	CHO 19/308
Ts'ui Yen-mu	Ch'ing-ho	1	5	CHO 36/640
Ts'ui Ch'ien	Po-ling	1	3	CHO 35/611
Ts'ui Shuo	Po-ling	1	3	CHO 35/614
Ts'ui Yu	Po-ling	1	1	CHO 35/615
Wang Yüeh	Ching-chao	1	—	CHO 33/578
Yang K'uan	Hung-nung	1	3	CHO 20/364
Yang Shao	Hung-nung	1	3	CHO 29/500
Yen Ch'ing	Ho-nan	1	3	CHO 20/342
Yü-wen Sheng	Tai-chün	1	5	CHO 29/493

It is worth noting that all the Arbiters appointed under the Western Wei/Northern Chou, except for one Han Chung-kung from Nan-yang, held offices with Rank 1 — a situation unprecedented in the whole of Chinese early medieval history. Han Chung-kung was apparently not interested in a bureaucratic career. He even refused the office of local Arbiter, to which he had been appointed by his commandery, but his refusal was not accepted. A contemporary, Li Mu, the Duke of Shen, accused him of "wanting merely to sit quietly at home, being a rich gentleman."²¹⁹ Han Chung-kung was no doubt an exception. During the Western Wei/Northern Chou dynasty it was obviously very easy for any gentleman in good local standing to achieve the highest offices in the state bureaucracy.

Under the Western Wei/Northern Chou, seven offices of Arbiter (27%) were awarded to clans that held more than one such appointment. The seven offices were distributed among three clans.

The clan with the highest number of appointments was the Ts'uis from Po-ling who held three during this time. The Po-ling Ts'uis were, of course, the old Later Han bureaucratic clan that we have encountered over and over, throughout the early medieval period, in the North of China proper.

Two clans held two appointments respectively: the Ch'üan clan from Shang-lo, and the Yang clan from Hung-nung. The Ch'üans from Shang-lo were never mentioned in the historical sources prior to this dynasty. The Yangs from Hung-nung were a well known Later Han clan.

The remaining eighteen Arbiter posts went to individuals who were the only Arbiter office holders from their respective clans. Among them, Ts'ui Yen-mu from

²¹⁹ See note #22 in CHO 34/604 for an explanation of the corrupt text in Han Chung-kung's brief biography in CHO 34/594.

Ch'ing-ho belonged to the clan well known since the Three Kingdoms period. Ssu-ma I's clan from Ho-nei was the Chin imperial clan. The clans of Hsüeh Tuan from Ho-tung, of Li Pi from Liao-tung, and of Li Ch'ang from Tun-ch'iu, all emerged on the national scene under the preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty. The rest of the Arbiters came from clans that were new to the circle of power and privilege.²²⁰

Ten of the twenty-six Arbiter appointments under the Western Wei/Northern Chou (38.5%) were held by already established bureaucratic clans; the rest (61.5%) went to people who were completely new to the ruling elite.

The following chart illustrates the origins of the clans of all the Arbiters during the Western Wei/Northern Chou period:

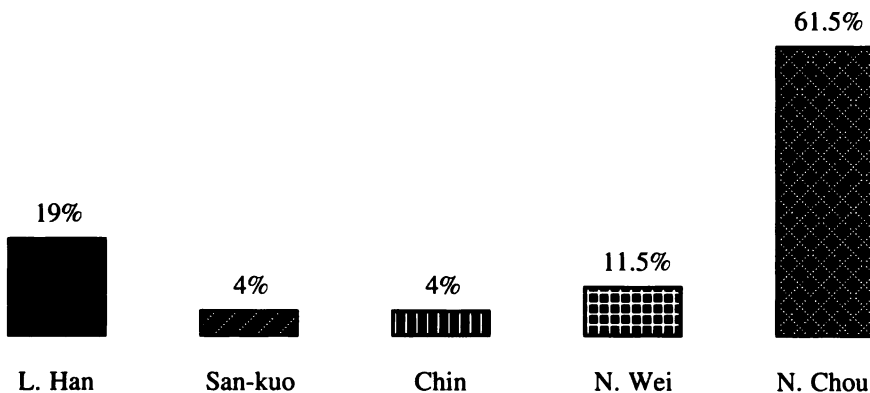


Chart 9a: Origins of clans of the Western Wei/Northern Chou Arbiters

The proportion of Western Wei/Northern Chou Arbiters who belonged to already established bureaucratic clans was higher than under either the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i (20%) or the T'o-pa Wei (28%). In an interesting twist, the number of Western Wei/Northern Chou Arbiters who belonged to old Later Han clans increased with time. Also, in contrast to Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i Arbiters, none of whom belonged to clans that first came to national prominence during the two immediately preceding dynasties of Chin and T'o-pa Wei, 15.5% of the Western Wei/Northern Chou Arbiters belonged to clans that originated during that period. So, although far from being closed to members of newly risen clans, the office of Arbiter under the Western Wei/Northern Chou became more of a means of protecting the interests of the old elite than it had been under either the T'o-pa Wei or the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i.

²²⁰ Some Changs from Chi-pei, Hsins from Lung-hsi, and Wangs from Ching-chao were mentioned in the *Wei shu*, but they are not related to Chang Kuei, Hsin Wei and Wang Yüeh here.

Offices with Rank 1

There was a true explosion in the number of titles with Rank 1 awarded during the Western Wei/Northern Chou period, unprecedented, and unmatched even by the roughly contemporary Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i dynasty which awarded seventy-six civilian and eighty-five military titles with Rank 1. Many of the military and civilian titles with Rank 1 under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i, it should be recalled, were held by the same individuals, largely due to the title of the Commander Unequalled in Honor (*k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu*), which was both military and civilian in character. All the military and civilian titles with Rank 1 under the Western Wei/ Northern Chou were held by the same individuals, due to a new system adopted by the Chou, which automatically attached certain titles to other top-ranking titles.

According to this system, those who held the title Pillar of State (*chu-kuo*), General-in-chief (*ta Chiang-chün*), Area Commander (*k'ai-fu*), or Unequalled in Honor (*i-t'ung san-ssu*), automatically received the titles Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers (*shih ch'ih-chieh*) and Commander-in-chief (*tu-tu*), which in effect gave them viceregal authority over all governmental agencies in their jurisdiction. Among them, those who held the title Area Commander also received the titles Cavalry General-in-chief (*p'iao-chi ta Chiang-chün*) and Palace Attendant (*shih-chung*); those who held the title Unequalled in Honor, also received the titles Chariot and Horse General-in-chief (*ch'e-chi ta Chiang-chün*) and Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary (*san-chi ch'ang-shih*). Those who received the title Area Commander-in-chief/Regional Inspector (*tsung-kuan tz'u-shih*), also received the titles Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers (*shih ch'ih-chieh*) and In Charge of All Military Affairs (*chu chün-shih*).²²¹

Thus, all individuals who received any one of the highest ranking official titles, automatically received full control of all affairs, military and civilian, in a designated area. There were three-hundred and sixty-nine such individuals recorded for the brief Western Wei/Northern Chou period, which means that there were seven-hundred and thirty-eight titles with Rank 1, if one counts the civilian and military ones separately, as this study did for other dynasties.

Generally, the titles do not seem to have been inherited, although the short life of the dynasty may be misleading here. In at least one case the *Chou shu* states clearly that a son inherited his father's official and noble titles — the case of Yang Chih-chi from Hung-nung, one of the many Hung-nung Yangs to hold official and noble titles with Rank 1 under the Western Wei/ Northern Chou.²²²

Below is a list of all the individuals who held the combined civilian and military titles with Rank 1, indicating the choronym for each individual, and the highest official titles held by his father and grandfather.

²²¹ This clause of the Chou system can be found in CHO 24/407. For more detail on each of the mentioned titles, see Hucker, *A Dictionary*, under individual entries.

²²² CHO 19/319.



Civilian and Military posts with Rank 1

Name	Choronym	Father	Grandf.	Source
Chang Kuei ²²³	Chi-pei	—	—	CHO 37/664
Ch'ang Shan	Kao-yang	—	—	CHO 27/446
Ch'ang Sheng-ho	Kao-yang	1	—	CHO 27/447
Ch'ang-sun Ch'eng	Ho-nan	1	—	CHO 26/431
Ch'ang-sun Chien ²²⁴	Ho-nan	—	—	CHO 26/427
Ch'ang-sun Ssu	Ho-nan	(uncle 1)	1	CHO 26/431
Chao Kang	Ho-nan	—	5	CHO 33/572
Chao Su ²²⁵	Ho-nan	—	—	CHO 37/662
Chao Wen-shen	Nan-yang	—	—	CHO 47/848
Chao Ch'ang ²²⁶	T'ien-shui	5	—	CHO 33/576
Chao Chiang	T'ien-shui ²²⁷	—	—	CHO 33/581
Chao Hsüan	T'ien-shui	1	5	CHO 34/588
Chao Kuei	T'ien-shui	—	—	CHO 16/261
Chao Shan	T'ien-shui	5	3	CHO 34/587
Chao Tu	T'ien-shui	1	5	CHO 34/588
Chao Wen-piao	T'ien-shui ²²⁸	1	—	CHO 33/581
Chao Yü	?	—	—	CHO 19/314
Ch'en Hsin ²²⁹	I-yang	—	—	CHO 43/777
Ch'en Shan-t'i	Ying-ch'uan ²³⁰	—	—	CHO 9/146
Cheng Ch'ang	Hsing-yang	4	—	CHO 36/635
Cheng Hsiao-mu ²³¹	Hsing-yang	5	5	CHO 35/609
Cheng Hsü	Hsing-yang	1	5	CHO 35/611
Cheng I	Hsing-yang	1	5	CHO 35/611
Cheng Wei	Hsing-yang	1	5	CHO 36/633
Chi Chün	T'ai-yüan	—	—	CHO 47/837
Chiang Sheng	Ch'u-kuo	5	—	CHO 47/838
Ch'ih-lieh-fu Ch'un	Tai-chün	1	—	CHO 20/341

²²³ His conferred surname was Yü-wen. CHO 37/665. The T'o-pa Wei dynasty engaged in periodic conferral of surnames — Chinese surnames for the Hsien-pei, and Hsien-pei surnames for the Chinese — in an effort to integrate Chinese and Hsien-pei elites. For the conferral of surnames under the Western Wei/Northern Chou, see Albert Dien, "The Bestowal of Surnames Under the Western Wei-Northern Chou: A Case of Counter-acculturation," *T'oung Pao*, Vol. LXIII, Nos. 2-3, pp. 135-177.

²²⁴ The Ch'ang-sun's original surname was T'o-pa; they were a branch of the Northern Wei ruling clan. When the T'o-pa Emperor Hsiao-wen moved to Lo-yang, they changed the surname. CHO 26/427.

²²⁵ His conferred surname was I-fu. CHO 37/663.

²²⁶ His conferred surname was Yü-wen. CHO 33/578.

²²⁷ His ancestors, originally from T'ien-shui, moved to Nan-cheng. CHO 33/581.

²²⁸ Wen-piao's ancestors, originally from T'ien-shui, moved to Nan-cheng. CHO 33/581.

²²⁹ His conferred surname was Wei-ch'ih. CHO 43/778.

²³⁰ Shan-ti does not have his own biography in the *Chou shu*. His eighth daughter, Yüeh-i, was one of the five Empresses of the Chou Emperor Hsüan. Her biography in CHO 9/146 gives his title as General-in-chief, and her choronym as Ying-ch'uan, but states that it was self-claimed by her (evidently without an independent source to prove it).

²³¹ His conferred surname was Yü-wen. CHO 35/609.

Ch'ih-lieh-fu Kuei	Tai-chün	—	—	CHO 20/341
Ch'ih-lo Hsieh ²³²	?	—	—	CHO 11/177
Chou Hui-ta	Chang-wu	—	—	CHO 22/361
Ch'u Kai	Ho-nan	—	—	CHO 47/849
Ch'üan Chen	Shang-lo	1	1	CHO 44/788
Ch'üan Ch'i	Shang-lo	5	—	CHO 44/785
Ch'üan Chung-tsun	Shang-lo	1	5	CHO 44/788
Ch'üan Huan	Shang-lo	1	1	CHO 44/789
Ch'üan Yüan-li	Shang-lo	1	5	CHO 44/787
Ch'üan Ching-hsüan	T'ien-shui	5	—	CHO 28/477
Ch'üan Ju-chang	T'ien-shui	1	5	CHO 28/480
Ch'üan Ju-chiu	T'ien-shui	1	5	CHO 28/480
Fan Shen ²³³	Ho-tung	—	—	CHO 45/811
Feng Ch'ien	?	— ²³⁴	—	CHO 11/180
Fu Meng	Shang-chia	—	—	CHO 44/795
Han Hsiung ²³⁵	Ho-nan	—	5	CHO 43/776
Han Sheng	Nan-yang	5	5	CHO 34/593
Han Teh-yü	Nan-yang	5	5	CHO 34/594
Han Kuo	Tai-chün	—	—	CHO 27/441
Han Ming	Tai-chün	1	—	CHO 27/442
Han Pao ²³⁶	Ying-ch'uan ²³⁷	3	3	CHO 37/660
Ho-jo I	Tai-chün	3	—	CHO 28/477
Ho-jo Pi	Tai-chün	1	3	CHO 28/477
Ho-jo Tun	Tai-chün	3	—	CHO 28/473
Ho-lan Ching	Tai-chün	1	—	CHO 20/338
Ho-lan Hsiang	Tai-chün	—	—	CHO 20/335
Ho-lan Jang	Tai-chün	1	—	CHO 20/339
Ho-lan K'uan	Tai-chün	1	—	CHO 20/339
Ho-lan Lung	Tai-chün	—	—	CHO 20/339
Ho-lan Shih	Tai-chün	1	—	CHO 20/339
Ho-lan Ts'an	Tai-chün	1	—	CHO 20/339
Ho-lien Ch'ien	Sheng-lo	1	—	CHO 27/441
Ho-lien Ta ²³⁸	Sheng-lo	—	—	CHO 27/439
Ho-pa Chung-hua	Shen-wu	1	—	CHO 14/220
Ho-pa Sheng	Shen-wu	—	—	CHO 14/215
Ho-pa Wei	Shen-wu	1	—	CHO 14/225

²³² Ch'ih-lo Hsieh's original given name was identical to the Northern Chou Emperor Kao-tsu's taboo, and was therefore changed. His choronym is not given. CHO 11/177.

²³³ His conferred surname was Wan-niu-yü. CHO 45/812.

²³⁴ Feng Ch'ien's father posthumously received the title of Unequaled in Honor, with Rank 1b, due to Ch'ien's merit. CHO 11/180.

²³⁵ His conferred surname was Yü-wen. CHO 43/777.

²³⁶ His conferred surname was Hou-lü-ling. CHO 36/660.

²³⁷ Han Pao's ancestors were originally from Ying-ch'uan, but they moved to Ch'ang-li. CHO 37/660.

²³⁸ His great-grandfather K'u-to-han had changed the surname to Tu, to obscure his origins. CHO 27/439.

Hou Chih ²³⁹	Shang-ku	4	—	CHO 29/505
Hou Ting	Shang-ku	1	4	CHO 29/506
Hou-mo-ch'en Ch'iung	Tai-chün	5	—	CHO 16/270
Hou-mo-ch'en Ch'ung	Tai-chün	5	—	CHO 16/268
Hou-mo-ch'en Jui	Tai-chün	1	5	CHO 16/270
Hou-mo-ch'en K'ai	Tai-chün	5	—	CHO 16/270
Hou-mo-ch'en Shun	Tai-chün	5	—	CHO 18/307
Hsi Ku	An-ting ²⁴⁰	—	—	CHO 44/798
Hsi Shih-ya	An-ting	1	—	CHO 44/799
Hsi Shih-ying	An-ting	1	—	CHO 44/799
Hsiao Chi	Lan-ling	1	1	CHO 42/753
Hsiao Hui ²⁴¹	Lan-ling	1	1	CHO 42/751
Hsiao Shih-i ²⁴²	Lan-ling	1	1	CHO 42/754
Hsiao Ta-feng ²⁴³	Lan-ling	1	1	CHO 42/756
Hsiao Ta-huan ²⁴⁴	Lan-ling	1	1	CHO 42/756
Hsiao Yüan-su ²⁴⁵	Lan-ling	1	1	CHO 42/755
Hsin Ang	Lung-hsi	(uncle 1)	(uncle 5)	CHO 39/698
Hsin Ch'ing-chih	Lung-hsi	5	—	CHO 39/697
Hsin Chung-ching	Lung-hsi	4	—	CHO 39/700
Hsin Wei	Lung-hsi	2	4	CHO 27/447
Hsin Yung-ta	Lung-hsi	1	2	CHO 27/448
Hsü Mien	Tung-hai	—	—	CHO 48/874
Hsü Hsiao-ching ²⁴⁶	Wu-chün	—	—	CHO 48/971
Hsü Shih-wu ²⁴⁷	Wu-chün	1	—	CHO 48/871
Hsüeh Chih	Ho-tung	5	5	CHO 38/685
Hsüeh Chou	Ho-tung	1	3	CHO 35/622
Hsüeh Hui ²⁴⁸	Ho-tung	—	—	CHO 48/871
Hsüeh Ming	Ho-tung	1	5	CHO 38/685
Hsüeh Shan ²⁴⁹	Ho-tung	4	5	CHO 35/623
Hsüeh Shen	Ho-tung	4	5	CHO 35/624

²³⁹ His conferred surname was Hou-fu-hou. Later, a second surname was conferred: Ho-t'un. CHO 29/505, 506.

²⁴⁰ Hsi Ku's great-great-grandfather Heng moved to Hsiang-yang during the disturbances of the Later Ch'in Kingdom, and served the Chin there. CHO 44/798 says that the Hsis were a famous clan in Hsiang-yang.

²⁴¹ Hsiao Hui's father was the Liang Prince of An-ch'eng, Hsiu, Liang Emperor Wu's younger brother. Hui held the highest noble and official titles under the Liang. CHO 42/751.

²⁴² Hsiao Shih-i's father was the Liang Prince of P'o-yang, Hui, Liang Emperor Wu's younger brother. Shih-i held noble and official titles under the Liang. CHO 42/754.

²⁴³ Hsiao Ta-feng's father was Liang Emperor Chien-wen. Ta-feng held the highest noble titles under the Liang. CHO 42/756.

²⁴⁴ Hsiao Ta-huan's father was Liang Emperor Chien-wen. Ta-huan held the highest noble titles under the Liang. CHO 42/756.

²⁴⁵ Hsiao Yüan-su's father was the Liang Prince of Wu-ling, Chi, Liang Emperor Wu's grandson. CHO 42/755.

²⁴⁶ Hsiao-ching held the title under the puppet regime of Hsiao Ch'a, installed by the Northern Chou.

²⁴⁷ Shih-wu inherited his father Hsiao-ching's title as General-in-chief which he held under the puppet regime of Hsiao Ch'a and Hsiao K'uei, installed by the Northern Chou.

²⁴⁸ Hsüeh Hui held the title under the puppet regime of Hsiao Ch'a and Hsiao K'uei, installed by the Northern Chou.

²⁴⁹ His conferred surname was Yü-wen. CHO 35/624.

Hsüeh Shu	Ho-tung	4	—	CHO 38/684
Hsüeh Tuan ²⁵⁰	Ho-tung	3	—	CHO 35/620
Huang-fu Fan	An-ting	—	—	CHO 39/696
Hu-ssu Cheng	Ho-nan	1	—	CHO 26/432
I Ang ²⁵¹	Liao-hsi	1	—	CHO 17/283
I Ch'un	Liao-hsi	1	—	CHO 17/283
I Feng	Liao-hsi	—	—	CHO 17/282
I Kuang	Liao-hsi	1	—	CHO 17/283
I-lou Mu	Tai-chün	2	—	CHO 29/499
Jen Kuo	Nan-an	—	—	CHO 44/799
Jo-kan Feng ²⁵²	Tai-chün	1	—	CHO 17/282
Jo-kan Hui	Tai-chün	— ²⁵³	—	CHO 17/280
Kao Ju	Kao-chü-li	1	—	CHO 29/497
Kao Lin	Kao-chü-li ²⁵⁴	—	—	CHO 29/495
Kao Pin ²⁵⁵	Po-hai	3	3	CHO 37/670
Keng Hao ²⁵⁶	Chü-lu	—	—	CHO 29/494
Keng Hsiung	Chü-lu	1	—	CHO 29/495
K'ou Chün	Shang-ku	4	4	CHO 37/657
K'ou Feng	Shang-ku	1	4	CHO 37/659
K'ou Ho	Shang-ku	1	—	CHO 15/238
K'ou Lo	Shang-ku	—	—	CHO 15/237
K'ou Shao	Shang-ku	—	—	CHO 15/238
K'ou Yung	Shang-ku	1	4	CHO 37/660
Kuo Hsien	Chao-hsing	5	—	CHO 28/480
Kuo Yen	T'ai-yüan	5	—	CHO 37/666
Li Ch'ien-che	An-k'ang	3	5	CHO 44/790
Li Ching-yu	An-k'ang	1	3	CHO 44/793
Li Hsien	An-k'ang	3	5	CHO 44/793
Li Ching-hsi	Ho-chien	5	5	CHO 47/845
Li I-sun	I-ch'uan	1	5	CHO 43/774
Li Jen-chieh	I-ch'uan	1	1	CHO 43/774
Li Yen-sun	I-ch'uan	1	5	CHO 43/773
Li Kuang ²⁵⁷	K'uai-chi	—	—	CHO 48/871
Li Sheng-ming	Liang-chün	1	4	CHO 37/666
Li Yen	Liang-chün	4	5	CHO 37/665
Li Ch'un	Liao-tung	1	3	CHO 15/243

²⁵⁰ His conferred surname was Yü-wen. CHO 35/622.

²⁵¹ The I clan's original surname was Mo-t'ai. CHO 17/282.

²⁵² The clan took on the name of a T'o-pa principality for their surname. CHO 17/280.

²⁵³ Jo-kan Hui's father Shu-li-chou received a posthumous title of Regional Inspector. CHO 17/280.

²⁵⁴ His ancestors were from Kao-chü-li, a state on the present-day Korean peninsula. They later served the Mu-jung Hui's Earlier Yen dynasty and the T'o-pas, who conferred on them the surname Yü-chen. CHO 29/495.

²⁵⁵ His conferred surname was Tu-ku. CHO 37/670.

²⁵⁶ His conferred surname was Ho-chi. CHO 29/495.

²⁵⁷ Li Kuang held the title under the puppet regime of Hsiao Ch'a, installed by the Northern Chou.

Li Hui	Liao-tung	1	3	CHO 15/241
Li Lun	Liao-tung	1	3	CHO 15/242
Li Pi	Liao-tung	3	4	CHO 15/239
Li Piao	Liao-tung	1	3	CHO 15/242
Li Yao	Liao-tung	3	4	CHO 15/242
Li Yen	Liao-tung	1	3	CHO 15/242
Li Yen	Liao-tung	1	3	CHO 15/242
Li Chi	Lung-hsi	1	—	CHO 25/418
Li Chi	Lung-hsi	1	—	CHO 25/423
Li Ch'ung	Lung-hsi	1	—	CHO 25/418
Li Ho ²⁵⁸	Lung-hsi ²⁵⁹	—	—	CHO 29/497
Li Hsiao-kuei	Lung-hsi	1	—	CHO 25/418
Li Hsien	Lung-hsi	—	—	CHO 25/413
Li Hsün	Lung-hsi	1	—	CHO 25/418
Li Hu ²⁶⁰	Lung-hsi	?	?	CHO 16/272
Li Mu ²⁶¹	Lung-hsi	—	—	CHO 30/527
Li Tuan	Lung-hsi	1	—	CHO 25/418
Li Tun	Lung-hsi	1	—	CHO 30/529
Li Wei	Lung-hsi	1	1	CHO 25/423
Li Yüan	Lung-hsi	—	—	CHO 25/418
Li T'ang	Po-hai	5	5	CHO 46/826
Li Ch'ang	Tun-ch'iu	(uncle 4)	3	CHO 38/686
Liang Hsin	An-ting ²⁶²	4	—	CHO 39/695
Liang Jui ²⁶³	An-ting	—	—	CHO 17/280
Liang Jung	An-ting ²⁶⁴	4	—	CHO 39/696
Liang Kang	An-ting	1	—	CHO 31/548
Liang Mo	An-ting	—	—	CHO 31/548
Liang Shih-yen	An-ting	—	—	CHO 31/547
Liang Ts'ao	An-ting	1	—	CHO 31/548
Liang Yü ²⁶⁵	An-ting	—	—	CHO 17/279
Liang T'ai	Ch'ang-ch'ih	5	—	CHO 27/452
Liang Ch'un	Tai-chün	5	5	CHO 27/451
Liang Ming	Tai-chün	1	5	CHO 27/452
Liao Hung ²⁶⁶	An-ting	1	—	CHO 37/671

²⁵⁸ Li Ho's conferred surname was Yü-wen. CHO 29/498.

²⁵⁹ Li Ho's ancestors were from Lung-hsi, but they moved to Shuo-fang. CHO 29/497.

²⁶⁰ Li Hu does not have a biography in the *Chou shu*. His title is mentioned at the end of Chapter 16, along with all the other recipients of the highest titles in A.D. 550. CHO 16/272-273.

²⁶¹ His conferred surname was T'o-pa. CHO 30/528.

²⁶² His ancestors moved, due to an official appointment, to Ching-chao, and settled there. CHO 39/695.

²⁶³ See the note for Liang Yü, Jui's father.

²⁶⁴ His ancestors moved, due to an official appointment, to Ching-chao, and settled there. CHO 39/695.

²⁶⁵ Liang Yü's ancestors were originally from An-ting, but they moved north to Wu-ch'uan due to an official appointment, and changed their surname to Ho-tou-ling. CHO 17/279.

²⁶⁶ His father Yün's original surname was Niu (his conferred surname Yü-wen), but he went under the surname Liao. Hung took back the surname Niu at the very end of the Northern Chou dynasty. CHO 37/671.

Liao Yün ²⁶⁷	An-ting	—	—	CHO 37/671
Ling-hu Cheng ²⁶⁸	Tun-huang	4	5	CHO 36/641
Ling-hu Hsi	Tun-huang	1	4	CHO 36/644
Ling-hu Hsiu	Tun-huang	4	5	CHO 36/644
Liu Ch'ang	Chung-shan	1	4	CHO 17/285
Liu Kan	Chung-shan	1	4	CHO 17/285
Liu Kung	Chung-shan	1	4	CHO 17/285
Liu Liang ²⁶⁹	Chung-shan	4	5	CHO 17/284
Liu Ang	Ho-tung	1	1	CHO 32/561
Liu Chi	Ho-tung	1	4	CHO 22/373
Liu Ch'ing ²⁷⁰	Ho-tung	4	4	CHO 22/369
Liu Ch'iu	Ho-tung	4	4	CHO 38/680
Liu Hsia	Ho-tung	5	5	CHO 42/765
Liu Min ²⁷¹	Ho-tung	1	—	CHO 32/560
Liu Tai-wei	Ho-tung	(uncle 1)	4	CHO 22/373
Liu Chih ²⁷²	Hung-nung	5	4	CHO 36/648
Liu Hsiung ²⁷³	Lin-t'ao	—	—	CHO 29/503
Liu Sheng	Lin-t'ao	1	—	CHO 29/505
Liu Fan	P'ei-kuo	—	—	CHO 42/760
Liu Hsiang	P'ei-kuo	1	—	CHO 42/765
Lu Kuang	Fan-yang	3	—	CHO 45/807
Lu Pen	Fan-yang	1	3	CHO 45/808
Lu Pien	Fan-yang	3	—	CHO 24/403
Lu Tan	Fan-yang	3	5	CHO 45/806
Lu Jung	Tai-chün	1	3	CHO 28/473
Lu T'eng	Tai-chün	3	4	CHO 28/469
Lu Ch'eng	Wu-chün	5	—	CHO 32/559
Lu T'ung ²⁷⁴	Wu-chün	5	—	CHO 32/557
Lu Jou	?	—	—	CHO 32/562
Nien Hsien	?	—	—	CHO 14/226
Nien Hua	?	1	—	CHO 14/227
P'an Tzu-huang	Kuang-ning ²⁷⁵	1	—	PCS 15/202
P'ei Han	Ho-tung	3	5	CHO 34/597
P'ei Hsia	Ho-tung	5	—	CHO 35/618

²⁶⁷ His original surname was Niu; his conferred surname Yü-wen. His son Hung took back the surname Niu at the very end of the Northern Chou dynasty. CHO 37/671.

²⁶⁸ His conferred surname was Yü-wen. CHO 36/643.

²⁶⁹ Liang's name was conferred on him by Emperor T'ai-tsu (his original name was Tao-teh), along with the surname Hou-mo-ch'en. CHO 17/285.

²⁷⁰ Surname Yü-wen was conferred on Liu Ch'ing. CHO 22/372.

²⁷¹ His conferred surname was Yü-wen. CHO 32/560.

²⁷² His conferred surname was Yü-wen. CHO 36/649.

²⁷³ His conferred surname was Yü-wen. CHO 29/503.

²⁷⁴ His conferred surname was Pu-liu-ku. CHO 32/559.

²⁷⁵ P'an Tzu-huang belonged to a great clan originally from Kuang-tsung. They moved north under the Wei to protect the northern border, and took the area as their choronym. PCS 15/201.

P'ei Hsiao-jen	Ho-tung	1	4	CHO 36/648
P'ei Hung	Ho-tung	3	5	CHO 34/598
P'ei K'uan	Ho-tung	3	5	CHO 34/594
P'ei Kuo	Ho-tung	4	4	CHO 36/647
P'ei Wen-chü ²⁷⁶	Ho-tung	3	4	CHO 37/668
Shen Ch'u	Wei-chün	1	—	CHO 32/557
Shen Hui	Wei-chün	—	4	CHO 32/555
Shen K'ang	Wei-chün	1	—	CHO 32/557
Shen Chung	Wu-hsing	—	—	CHO 45/808
She-ti Chih ²⁷⁷	Liao-tung	5	5	CHO 33/569
She-ti Ch'ang	Shen-wu	—	—	CHO 27/448
Shih Hsiung	Chien-k'ang	1	5	CHO 28/459
Shih Ning	Chien-k'ang	5	—	CHO 28/456
Shih Yün	Chien-k'ang	1	5	CHO 28/459
Shih-yün Pao	?	—	—	CHO 19/314
Ssu-ma Hsiao-nan	Ho-nei	1	5	CHO 21/354
Ssu-ma I	Ho-nei	—	—	CHO 36/645
Ssu-ma K'an	Ho-nei	1	—	CHO 36/647
Su Ch'un ²⁷⁸	Wu-kung	5	—	CHO 23/395
Su Liang	Wu-kung	5	5	CHO 38/677
Su Wei	Wu-kung	3	5	CHO 23/395
Ta-hsi Shih	Ho-nan	3	—	CHO 29/502
Ta-hsi Chen	Tai-chün	1	5	CHO 19/306
Ta-hsi Wu	Tai-chün	5	5	CHO 19/303
T'ang Chin ²⁷⁹	?	—	—	CHO 32/564
T'ang Yung ²⁸⁰	T'ai-yüan	—	—	PCS 40/530
T'ien Hung	Kao-p'ing	—	—	CHO 27/449
T'ien Kung	Kao-p'ing	1	—	CHO 27/450
Tou Ch'ih ²⁸¹	Fu-feng	5	—	CHO 30/517
Tou Hsien	Fu-feng	1	1	CHO 30/522
Tou I	Fu-feng	1	5	CHO 30/521
Tou Jung-ting	Fu-feng	1	5	CHO 30/521
Tou Kung	Fu-feng	1	5	CHO 30/521
Tou Shan	Fu-feng	5	—	CHO 30/521

²⁷⁶ His conferred surname was Ho-lan. CHO 37/669.

²⁷⁷ His clan's original surname was Tuan, but they changed it to escape danger, and later moved to the Tai commandery. CHO 33/569.

²⁷⁸ Surname Ho-lan was conferred on Ch'un. CHO 23/395.

²⁷⁹ His conferred surname was Yü-wen; his second conferred surname Wan-niu-yü. CHO 32/564.

²⁸⁰ T'ang Yung, who had been Northern Ch'i Prince of Chin-ch'ang, surrendered to the Northern Chou, where he received military Rank 1. As a result his youngest son Chün, who was still a Northern Ch'i subject, was sentenced to death. PCS 40/532.

²⁸¹ Tou Ch'ih's ancestor in eleventh generation was Han Chamberlain for Dependencies, Chang. Chang's son T'ung escaped persecution by the Han by joining the Hsiung-nu, where he became a Tribal Overseer. His descendants, having settled in the Tai commandery, received the surname Ho-tou-ling. CHO 30/517.

Tou-lu Chi	Ch'ang-li	(uncle 1)	5	CHO 19/310
Tou-lu Ning ²⁸²	Ch'ang-li	5	—	CHO 19/308
Tou-lu Tsan	Ch'ang-li	1	5	CHO 19/310
Ts'ai Cheng	Ch'en-liu	1	4	CHO 27/445
Ts'ai Tse	Ch'en-liu	4	5	CHO 27/445
Ts'ai Yu	Ch'en-liu	4	5	CHO 27/442
Ts'ai Ta-pao ²⁸³	Chi-yang	5	5	CHO 48/868
Ts'en Shan-fang	Nan-yang	5	3	CHO 48/872
Ts'ui Yen-mu	Ch'ing-ho	5	4	CHO 36/640
Ts'ui Ch'ien ²⁸⁴	Po-ling	3	5	CHO 35/611
Ts'ui Chung-fang	Po-ling	1	3	CHO 35/615
Ts'ui Hung-tu	Po-ling	1	3	CHO 35/614
Ts'ui K'uang	Po-ling	1	3	CHO 35/614
Ts'ui Shuo ²⁸⁵	Po-ling	3	5	CHO 35/614
Ts'ui Yu ²⁸⁶	Po-ling	1	3	CHO 35/615
Tsung Lin	Nan-yang	—	—	CHO 42/759
Tu Ch'ang-hui	Ching-chao	1	3	CHO 39/704
Tu Kao	Ching-chao	1	3	CHO 39/701
Tu Shu-p'i	Ching-chao	5	—	CHO 46/829
Tuan Hsiao-yen	Ku-tsang	2	5	PCS 16/214
Tuan Shen	Ku-tsang	1	2	PCS 16/214
Tuan Teh-heng	Ku-tsang	1	2	PCS 16/214
Tuan Chi	Liao-hsi	1	—	CHO 36/638
Tuan Yung ²⁸⁷	Liao-hsi	—	—	CHO 36/636
Tu-ku Hsin	Yün-chung	—	—	CHO 16/263
Tu-ku Lo	Yün-chung	1	—	CHO 16/267
Tu-ku Shan	Yün-chung	1	—	CHO 16/267
Wang Shih-chi	Ch'an-hsi	1	—	CHO 29/502
Wang Ya	Ch'an-hsi	—	—	CHO 29/501
Wang Chieh ²⁸⁸	Chin-ch'eng	3	—	CHO 29/489
Wang Hsiao-ch'ien	Chin-ch'eng	1	3	CHO 29/490
Wang P'i	Ching-chao	—	—	CHO 18/291
Wang Shu	Ching-chao	1	—	CHO 18/293
Wang Yüeh ²⁸⁹	Ching-chao	—	—	CHO 33/578

²⁸² Tou-lu clan's original surname was Mu-jung. The surname Tou-lu was either conferred, or adopted to cover up the past in time of adversity. CHO 19/308.

²⁸³ Ta-pao held the title under the puppet regime of Hsiao Ch'a and Hsiao K'uei, installed by the Northern Chou.

²⁸⁴ His conferred surname was Yü-wen. CHO 35/613.

²⁸⁵ His conferred surname was Yü-wen. CHO 35/614.

²⁸⁶ His conferred surname was Yü-wen. CHO 35/616.

²⁸⁷ His conferred surname was Erh-mien. CHO 36/637.

²⁸⁸ His conferred surname was Yü-wen. CHO 29/489.

²⁸⁹ His name is the same as that of Wang Yüeh in CHO 20/335, but he does not appear to be the same person, nor does he claim relationship with the other Ching-chao Wangs. His conferred surname was Yü-wen. CHO 33/581.

Wang Hsien	Lo-lang	(uncle 1)	5	CHO 20/335
Wang I	Lo-lang	1	(uncle 1)	CHO 20/335
Wang Mao	Lo-lang	5	4	CHO 20/334
Wang Meng	Lo-lang	5	4	CHO 20/333
Wang Yüeh	Lo-lang	1	5	CHO 20/335
Wang Pao	Lang-ya	3	3	CHO 41/729
Wang Ch'ang	Tai-chün	1	—	CHO 29/492
Wang Ch'ing	Tai-chün	1	—	CHO 17/286
Wang Teh ²⁹⁰	Tai-chün	—	—	CHO 17/285
Wang Yung ²⁹¹	Tai-chün	—	—	CHO 29/490
Wang Ch'ien	T'ai-yüan	1	—	CHO 21/352
Wang Ch'ing	T'ai-yüan	4	—	CHO 33/575
Wang Hsiung	T'ai-yüan	—	—	CHO 19/319
Wang Kuang ²⁹²	T'ai-yüan	—	—	CHO 40/711
Wang Kuei ²⁹³	T'ai-yüan	1	—	CHO 40/711
Wang Shih-liang	T'ai-yüan	5	5	CHO 36/638
Wang Ssu-cheng	T'ai-yüan	—	—	CHO 18/293
Wang Teh-heng	T'ai-yüan	1	5	CHO 36/639
Wang Ts'ao ²⁹⁴	T'ai-yüan	5	5	CHO 48/869
Wei Chen ²⁹⁵	Ching-chao	5	5	CHO 39/693
Wei Ch'u	Ching-chao	1	3	CHO 43/776
Wei Chün	Ching-chao	5	5	CHO 39/694
Wei Shu-yü ²⁹⁶	Ching-chao	3	5	CHO 31/535
Wei Yu	Ching-chao	3	—	CHO 43/774
Wei I-teh ²⁹⁷	Hsiang-yang	—	—	CHO 48/870
Wei Hsüan ²⁹⁸	Jen-ch'eng	—	—	CHO 43/779
Wei-ch'ih An	Tai-chün	1	—	CHO 20/341
Wei-ch'ih Ching	Tai-chün	1	—	CHO 20/341
Wei-ch'ih Ching	Tai-chün	1	1	CHO 40/710
Wei-ch'ih Kang	Tai-chün	—	—	CHO 20/339
Wei-ch'ih Yün	Tai-chün	1	—	CHO 40/709
Yang Piao	Cheng-p'ing	—	—	CHO 34/590
Yang Chien	Ch'in-chün	5	—	CHO 33/570
Yang Cheng	Hung-nung	5	3	CHO 19/319
Yang Chi	Hung-nung	1	3	CHO 22/367

²⁹⁰ His conferred surname was Wu-wan. CHO 17/286.

²⁹¹ His conferred surname was K'u-han. CHO 29/491.

²⁹² His ancestors who were in the service of the T'o-pa Wei were conferred the surname Wu-wan. CHO 40/711.

²⁹³ His ancestors who were in the service of the T'o-pa Wei were conferred the surname Wu-wan. CHO 40/711.

²⁹⁴ Ts'ao held the title under the puppet regime of Hsiao Ch'a and Hsiao K'uei, installed by the Northern Chou.

²⁹⁵ His conferred surname was Yü-wen. CHO 39/694.

²⁹⁶ Shu-yü was better known by his style Hsiao-k'uan. His conferred surname was Yü-wen. CHO 31/538.

²⁹⁷ I-teh held the title under the puppet regime of Hsiao Ch'a and Hsiao K'uei, installed by the Northern Chou.

²⁹⁸ His ancestors moved south during the *Yung chia* era (A.D. 307-313), and his father moved back north from the Liang empire under the T'o-pa Wei regime. CHO 43/779.

Yang Chien	Hung-nung	3	4	CHO 22/368
Yang Chung ²⁹⁹	Hung-nung	5	3	CHO 19/314
Yang Fu	Hung-nung	3	3	CHO 34/599
Yang Hsiung	Hung-nung	1	5	CHO 29/501
Yang K'uan	Hung-nung	3	4	CHO 22/364
Yang Shao ³⁰⁰	Hung-nung	5	5	CHO 29/500
Yang Su	Hung-nung	1	3	CHO 34/600
Yang Jui	Kuang-ning	1	3	CHO 36/636
Yang Tsuan ³⁰¹	Kuang-ning	3	—	CHO 36/635
Yang Ch'ang-k'uan	Shang-lo	1	2	CHO 44/797
Yang Hsiung	Shang-lo	2	5	CHO 44/796
Yang Kan-yün	T'ang-ch'eng	5	—	CHO 44/793
Yang Lüeh	T'ang-ch'eng	(uncle 1)	5	CHO 44/794
Yang Tuan	T'ang-ch'eng	1	5	CHO 44/794
Yao Seng-yüan	Wu-hsing	—	—	CHO 47/839
Yen Ch'ing ³⁰²	Ho-nan	3	1	CHO 20/342
Yen P'i	Ho-nan	1	3	CHO 20/343
Yen Chih-i	Lang-ya	5	5	CHO 40/719
Yin Cheng ³⁰³	T'ien-shui	—	—	CHO 48/871
Yin Teh-i ³⁰⁴	T'ien-shui	1	—	CHO 48/871
Yü Chih	Ho-nan	1	4	CHO 15/251
Yü Chin	Ho-nan	4 ³⁰⁵	5	CHO 15/243
Yü Chung-wen	Ho-nan	1	1	CHO 15/251
Yü Ch'üan	Ho-nan	1	1	CHO 30/526
Yü Hsi	Ho-nan	1	1	CHO 30/526
Yü Hsiang-hsien	Ho-nan	1	1	CHO 15/251
Yü I	Ho-nan	1	1	CHO 15/251
Yü I	Ho-nan	1	4	CHO 15/251
Yü I	Ho-nan	1	4	CHO 30/523
Yü Jang	Ho-nan	1	1	CHO 30/526
Yü K'uang	Ho-nan	1	4	CHO 15/252
Yü Lan	Ho-nan	1	4	CHO 15/252
Yü Li	Ho-nan	1	4	CHO 15/251
Yü Pi	Ho-nan	1	4	CHO 15/252
Yü Shao	Ho-nan	1	4	CHO 15/252
Yü Shih	Ho-nan	1	4	CHO 15/250

²⁹⁹ Yang Chung's conferred surname was Pu-liu-ju. CHO 19/317.

³⁰⁰ Yang Shao's conferred surname was Chih-li. CHO 29/500.

³⁰¹ His conferred surname was Mo-hu-lu. CHO 36/636.

³⁰² His conferred surname was Ta-yeh. CHO 20/342.

³⁰³ Yin Cheng held the title under the puppet regime of Hsiao Ch'a and Hsiao K'uei, installed by the Northern Chou.

³⁰⁴ Yin Teh-i held the title under the puppet regime of Hsiao K'uei, installed by the Northern Chou.

³⁰⁵ Yü Chin's father T'i posthumously received a military and a civilian title with Rank 1, as well as the noble title of Duke. CHO 15/243.

Yü Hsin	Nan-yang	3	—	CHO 41/733
Yüan Cheng	Ho-nan	1	1	CHO 38/690
Yüan Chien	Ho-nan	1	1	CHO 38/689
Yüan Hsin	Ho-nan	1	1	CHO 38/689
Yüan K'uo ³⁰⁶	Ho-nan	1	1	CHO 16/272
Yüan Lo	Ho-nan	1	1	CHO 38/689
Yüan Shen	Ho-nan	1	1	CHO 38/690
Yüan Shou	Ho-nan	1	1	CHO 38/690
Yüan Shun	Ho-nan	3	1	CHO 38/688
Yüan Ting	Ho-nan	3	3	CHO 34/588
Yüan Tsan	Ho-nan	1	1	CHO 38/689
Yüan Tse	Ho-nan	1	1	CHO 38/689
Yüan Tzu-hsiao	Ho-nan	1	1	CHO 38/689
Yüan Wei	Ho-nan	1	3	CHO 38/688
Yüan Yen-tzu	Ho-nan	1	1	CHO 38/690
Yüan Yü	Ho-nan	1	1	CHO 38/689
Yüeh Sun	Ho-tung	—	—	CHO 45/814
Yüeh Kuang ³⁰⁷	?	—	—	CHO 44/795
Yü-wen Hsin	Ch'ang-li	1	—	CHO 19/314
Yü-wen K'ai	Ch'ang-li	1	—	CHO 19/314
Yü-wen Kuei	Ch'ang-li ³⁰⁸	— ³⁰⁹	—	CHO 19/311
Yü-wen Shan	Ch'ang-li	1	—	CHO 19/314
Yü-wen Ch'iu	Tai-chün	—	—	CHO 29/492
Yü-wen Ch'iu	Tai-chün	5	5	CHO 29/493
Yü-wen Hsiao-po	Tai-chün	1	—	CHO 40/716
Yü-wen Hsien-ho	Tai-chün	4	—	CHO 40/713
Yü-wen Kai	Tai-chün	1	—	CHO 27/455
Yü-wen Shen	Tai-chün	—	—	CHO 27/455
Yü-wen Shen-ch'ing	Tai-chün	1	4	CHO 40/716
Yü-wen Shen-chü	Tai-chün	1	4	CHO 40/713
Yü-wen Sheng	Tai-chün	5	5	CHO 29/493
Yü-wen Shu	Tai-chün	1	5	CHO 29/493
Yü-wen Tao ³¹⁰	Tai-chün	?	?	CHO 16/273
Yü-wen Ts'e ³¹¹	Tai-chün	—	—	CHO 27/453

³⁰⁶ Yüan K'uo is not mentioned with the other members of the T'o-pa Wei imperial clan. His title is given at the end of Chapter 16, along with all the other recipients of the highest titles in A.D. 550. CHO 16/272-273.

³⁰⁷ Yüeh Kuang was Yang Kan-yün's son-in-law, and his titles are mentioned in Kan-yün's biography in CHO 44/793. No choronym is given.

³⁰⁸ The Ta-chi district in the Ch'ang-li commandery was the place of origin of the Yü-wen clan. Later they moved to Hsia-chou. CHO 19/311.

³⁰⁹ Kuei's father Mo-tou-kan received the highest official and noble titles posthumously, due to Kuei's merit. CHO 19/311.

³¹⁰ Yü-wen Tao does not have a biography in the *Chou shu*. His title is mentioned at the end of Chapter 16, along with all the other recipients of the highest titles in A.D. 550. CHO 16/272-273.

³¹¹ Yü-wen Ts'e was the Chou Emperor T'ai-tsu's nephew, thrice removed. CHO 27/453.

Of the three-hundred and seventy individuals who held titles with Rank 1 during the Western Wei/Northern Chou period, three-hundred and seventeen (almost 86%) belonged to clans who held more than one such title. This percentage is much higher than the comparable one for the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i (where the figures were 43% for civilian titles, and 40% for military) or the T'o-pa Wei (70% in both cases). One senses, therefore, an attempt by a certain group of clans to monopolize the highest levels of power.

The clans with the largest number of appointees were: the Yü clan from Ho-nan (with sixteen); the Yüan clan from Ho-nan (with fifteen);³¹² the Li clan from Lung-hsi (with thirteen); the Yü-wen clan from Tai-chün (with twelve); the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan and the Yang clan from Hung-nung (each with nine appointees);³¹³ the Hsüeh clan from Ho-tung, the Li clan from Liao-tung, and the Liang clan from An-ting (each with eight appointees); the Chao clan from T'ien-shui, the Ho-lan clan from Tai-chün, the Liu clan from Ho-tung, and the P'ei clan from Ho-tung (each with seven); the Hsiao clan from Lan-ling, the K'ou clan from Shang-ku, the Tou clan from Fu-feng, and the Ts'ui clan from Po-ling (each with six appointees); the Cheng clan from Hsing-yang, the Ch'üan clan from Shang-lo, the Hou-mo-ch'en clan from Tai-chün, the Hsin clan from Lung-hsi, the Wang clan from Lo-lang, the Wei clan from Ching-chao, and the Wei-ch'ih clan from Tai-chün (each with five appointees); the I clan from Liao-hsi, the Liu clan from Chung-shan, the Lu clan from Fan-yang, the Wang clan from Tai-chün, and the Yü-wen clan from Ch'ang-li (each with four appointees); and the Ch'ang-sun clan from Ho-nan, the Ch'üan clan from T'ien-shui, the Ho-jo clan from Tai-chün, the Ho-pa clan from Shen-wu, the Hsi clan from An-ting, the Li clan from An-k'ang, the Li clan from I-ch'uan, the Ling-hu clan from Tun-huang, the Shen clan from Wei-chün, the Shih clan from Ch'ien-k'ang, the Ssu-ma clan from Ho-nei, the Su clan from Wu-kung, the Tou-lu clan from Ch'ang-li, the Ts'ai clan from Ch'en-liu, the Tu clan from Ching-chao, the Tuan clan from Ku-tsang, the Tu-ku clan from Yün-chung, the Wang clan from Ching-chao, and the Yang clan from T'ang-ch'eng (each with three appointees). In addition, twenty-seven clans held two appointments per clan, while fifty-three held only one appointment.

Let us now look at the background of the clans who held the most appointments. Sixteen members of the Yü clan from Ho-nan held appointments with Rank 1, but the clan had never been mentioned in historical sources prior to this time. Fifteen members of the Yüan clan from Ho-nan held appointments with Rank 1, largely because they were members of the abdicated T'o-pa Wei imperial clan, on whom the new Western Wei/Northern Chou dynasty heaped honors and titles.³¹⁴ The Yü-wen clan from Tai-chün, on the other hand, was the imperial clan of the Western Wei/Northern Chou, and the twelve Yü-wens who held official appoint-

³¹² The Yüans of Ho-nan were descendants of the T'o-pa Wei ruling house.

³¹³ See Note #157 for an explanation of the claims of T'o-pa Wei Hung-nung Yangs.

³¹⁴ They were descendants of the T'o-pa Wei Emperor Chao-ch'eng. CHO 38/688-690 gives their list, complemented by scattered biographies of other members.

ments with Rank 1 were cousins of the dynasty's founder. The Yü-wens were well established at this time, but they were not an old clan.

The Li clan from Lung-hsi, which had thirteen members appointed to offices with Rank 1, was an old bureaucratic clan at this time, having first sprung to prominence under the preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty. The Yang clan from Hung-hung, with nine appointees, was an old Later Han clan. The T'ai-yüan Wangs, also with nine appointments were, of course, an old clan well-known since Later Han times, but they did not maintain their national status after the Chin. The connection between the T'ai-yüan Wangs who emerged at this time and the previously well-known Wangs cannot be established.

Of the clans who received eight appointees to the highest offices each — the Hsüehs from Ho-tung, the Lis from Liao-tung, and the Liangs from An-ting — the Hsüehs and the Lis had attained high bureaucratic status under the preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty, and were therefore old established clans at this time.³¹⁵

Among the five clans to have seven appointees to the highest offices each, two — the Chao clan from T'ien-shui and the Ho-lan clan from Tai-chün — were newcomers to the center-stage of national politics. The Liu clan from Ho-tung was well known under the Southern dynasties of Southern Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en;³¹⁶ the P'ei clan from Ho-tung first emerged on the national scene during the Three Kingdoms period, and retained power and prestige both in the South and in the North during the period of division.

Except for the Tou clan from Fu-feng, all the other three clans who had six appointees to offices with Rank 1 were well known under the dynasties immediately preceding the Western Wei/Northern Chou. The Hsiao clan from Lan-ling was well known under the T'o-pa Wei, but even more so in the South, where it was the ruling house of Southern Ch'i and Liang. The K'ou clan from Shang-ku first came into prominence under the T'o-pa Wei dynasty. The Ts'ui clan from Po-ling was the most enduring clan in Northern China, which emerged on the national scene during the Later Han, and retained its position there during the entire early medieval period.

Of the seven clans who had five appointees with Rank 1 each, only the Cheng clan from Hsing-yang was an old bureaucratic clan. The Chengs had been well known since Later Han times, although there seems to have been a lapse in their prestige sometime between the Chin and the T'o-pa Wei, when direct family ties of people mentioned in the dynastic histories cannot be established. The remaining six clans — the Ch'üan clan from Shang-lo, the Hou-mo-ch'en clan from Tai-chün, the Hsin clan from Lung-hsi, the Wang clan from Lo-lang, the Wei clan from Ching-chao, and the Wei-ch'ih clan from Tai-chün — were not well known before this time. Some Tai-chün Hou-mo-ch'ens, some Lung-hsi Hsins and some Ching-

³¹⁵ Some Liao-tung Lis were already mentioned in the *Chin shu*, but they don't appear to be related to the later Liao-tung Lis.

³¹⁶ Some Ho-tung Lius were also mentioned in the *Sung shu*, but they do not appear to be related to the later Lius.

chao Weis were mentioned in the sources for the preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty, but none of the individuals who received offices with Rank 1 under the Western Wei/Northern Chou claimed relationship with them.

Of the five clans who held four appointments to the highest offices each, only the Fan-yang Lus were an old bureaucratic clan, established nationally since Later Han times. The I clan from Liao-hsi, the Liu clan from Chung-shan, the Lu clan from Fan-yang, the Wang clan from Tai-chün, and the Yü-wen clan from Ch'ang-li were all newcomers to the circle of power and prestige, with only some Chung-shan Lius having been previously mentioned in historical sources like the *Wei shu*, but without any connection to the later Lius.

Finally, of the clans who held three appointments to the highest offices, four were already established bureaucratic clans at this time: the Ch'ang-sun clan from Ho-nan, the Ho-pa clan from Shen-wu, and the Shen clan from Wei-chün all came into prominence under the preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty, while the Ssu-ma clan from Ho-nei first emerged as a ministerial clan under the San-kuo Wei, became the imperial clan of the Chin, and retained a measure of social status under the T'o-pa Wei as well. The Ching-chao Tus were a well known clan from the Three Kingdoms period, that retained its position throughout the Chin and the T'o-pa Wei, but the Ching-chao Tus who received highest offices under the Western Wei/Northern Chou do not appear to be directly descended from them. Similarly, the Ch'en-liu Ts'ais were well known from the Later Han through the Chin, but seem to have lost their status under the T'o-pa Wei. They were not an established bureaucratic clan with power and prestige at the beginning of this dynasty. The remaining fourteen clans with three appointees each were new on the national scene.³¹⁷

Twenty-five of the twenty-seven clans who held two appointments per clan were newly-emerged clans on the national scene.³¹⁸ The only two clans well established at the advent of the Western Wei/Northern Chou were the two Lu clans: one from Tai-chün, the other from Wu-chün. The Tai-chün Lus first emerged on the national stage under the T'o-pa Wei, while the Wu-chün Lus emerged during the Later Han, and retained prestige throughout the early medieval period, with one gap between the Chin and the Southern Ch'i, under the Southern dynasties.

Fifty-three individuals belonged to clans who held only one appointment with Rank 1, and forty-seven of these clans were not old and well-established at the time the new dynasty came into power.³¹⁹ Only six individuals belonged to established

³¹⁷ Only some Ching-chao Wangs were mentioned previously, in the *Wei shu*, but the Western Wei/Northern Chou Wangs don't claim any relationship with them.

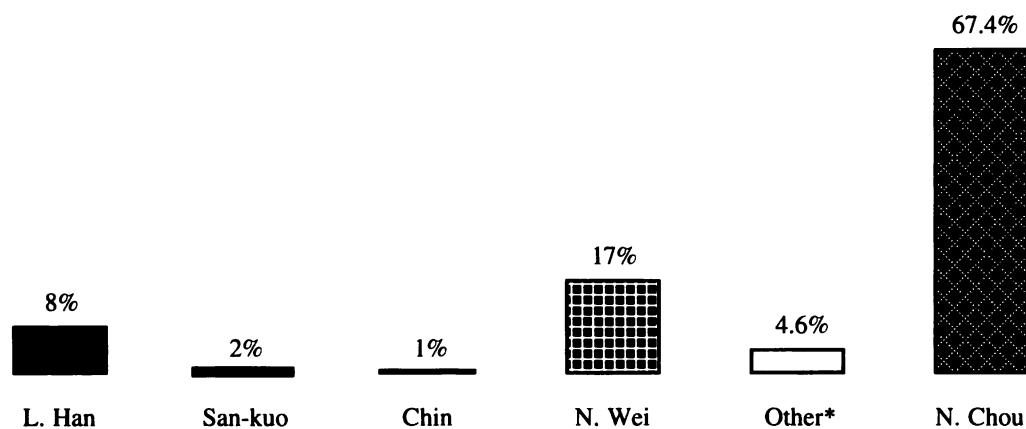
³¹⁸ In fact, one of the twenty-five, the P'ei-kuo Lius, were not new: they had been prominent during the Three Kingdoms period and the Chin, but have not been mentioned in the sources after that until the Western Wei/Northern Chou time. They were thus once prominent, declined, and rose once again to hold at least some offices with considerable power. Also, one Chü-lu Keng was mentioned in the *Wei shu*, but he is not related to the Kengs of this period.

³¹⁹ Some of the clans, like the Huang-fus from An-ting, or the Kuos from T'ai-yüan, had been well known earlier, but had lost their prestige by this time. Some others were well known until this time, but the office-holders from the Western Wei/Northern Chou period did not claim a relationship with any of the clan members known from the historical sources for previous dynasties.

bureaucratic clans: Ch'u Kai from Ho-nan, whose clan was well known in the South from Chin times on through the Liang; Hsü Mien from Tung-hai, whose clan was well known in the South throughout the early medieval period, beginning with Chin dyansty;³²⁰ Li Ch'ang from Tun-ch'iu, whose clan became prominent under the T'o-pa Wei; Ts'ai Ta-pao from Chi-yang, whose clan was well known under all the Southern dynasties, beginning with the Liu Sung; Tsung Lin from Nan-yang, whose clan was well known under the Southern dynasties of the Liu Sung, the Southern Ch'i and Liang; and Wang Pao from Lang-ya, who belonged to one of the most powerful early medieval clans in Southern China from Chin times on.

It would appear, in conclusion, that the newly-emerged clans held considerable power in the highest echelons of the bureaucracy under the Western Wei/Northern Chou, but not as much as under the other Northern dynasties. Of the three-hundred and seventy individuals whose tenure of civilian/military offices with Rank 1 was recorded in the sources, one-hundred and twenty (just under 32.5%) belonged to the established elite. The percentage is higher than for either the T'o-pa Wei or the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i dynasties, but it is still relatively low, particularly since a good portion of the "established elite" had just emerged during the preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty.

The following chart illustrates the origins of the clans of all the individuals who held civilian and military offices with Rank 1 during the Western Wei/Northern Chou period:



* The Southern dynasties. Clans well-established in the South are included in this category.

Chart 9 b-c: Origins of clans of civilian and military office-holders with Rank 1

Judging from the backgrounds of office-holders with Rank 1, the Western Wei/Northern Chou society was not as fluid as that of the T'o-pa Wei or the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i. (We will recall that 92% of all civilian and 86% of all military T'o-pa posts with Rank 1 went to representatives of new clans; under the

³²⁰ The connection between the known Hsüs is broken between the Southern Ch'i and Liang.

Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i the figures were 82% for civilian and 80% for military posts). The highest levels of the state bureaucracy at this time were not as open to newcomers, just as in the case of Arbiters at this time. But in contrast to the established clans of Arbiters, the majority of whom had originated during the Later Han, the established clans of office-holders with Rank 1 had in most cases originated during the preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty.

As we have already mentioned earlier, all but one of the the twenty-six Western Wei/Northern Chou Arbiters also held offices with Rank 1. The only exception was Han Chung-kung from Nan-yang.³²¹ We conclude, therefore, that the office of Arbiter under the Western Wei/Northern Chou certainly served as a stepping stone to the highest offices. Yet, since there were only twenty-six recorded Arbiter posts, but as many as three hundred and sixty-nine recorded posts with Rank 1, the office of Arbiter was obviously not the surest way to the top of the Western Wei/Northern Chou official elite.

³²¹ His clan produced two office-holders with Rank 1 at this time.

SUMMARY

At the beginning of this chapter, as we discussed Ts'ao Ts'ao's establishment of the new system of classifying all offices into nine ranks and the introduction of the office of local Arbiter, we suspected that the powerful clans would try to monopolize this office for the purpose of securing and further advancing their status. Our analysis of the background of all recorded Arbiter appointees during the early medieval period confirms that this was largely the case.

The following table summarizes our findings for the whole period:

Dynasty	Number of Arbiter posts	From established clans (%)	From established clans (#)	From new clans (#)	From new clans (%)
San-kuo (Shu)	2	—	0%	2	100%
Chin	38	14	37%	24	63%
Liu Sung	36 ³²²	21	58%	14	39%
South. Ch'i	31	21	68%	10	32%
Liang	28	21	75%	7	25%
Ch'en	17	16	94%	1	6%
T'o-pa Wei	148	42	28%	106	72%
North. Ch'i	25	5	20%	20	80%
Nort. Chou	26	10	38.5%	16	61.5%

In the South, we witness an increasing tendency on the part of established bureaucratic clans to monopolize the office of Arbiter.³²³ The ability of established clans to control Arbiter appointments in the South increased with each Southern dynasty, in a consistent and steady fashion, from 37% during Chin dynasty to 94% during the last of the Southern Dynasties, the Ch'en.

In the North, however, the situation was quite different. There, whether intentionally or not, the old prominent Chinese clans were rather successfully kept out

³²² The numbers and percentages do not add up because the choronym of one Arbiter, Yü Kuei-chih, is not known. NCS 34/617.

³²³ Dennis Grafflin traces the evolution of the office from a temporary expedient devised by Ts'ao Ts'ao to absorb ambitious local leaders into his administrative mechanism as he slowly moved to supplant the Han, to the tool of the national elite, which he also refers to as aristocracy, in its bid to ensure high rank for its progeny regardless of merit. Grafflin, "Reinventing China," pp. 145-153. He gives a synthesis of Japanese scholarship on the topic by quoting: Yoshikawa Tadao, *O Gi-shi*, Tokyo: Shimizu shoin, 1972, pp. 13-14; Okazaki Fumio, *Gi Shin Nan-bokucho tsushi*, Tokyo: Hirobumi doshobo, 1932, p. 488; Miyazaki Ichisada, *op.cit.*, pp. 10, 96-100; Kawakatsu Yoshio, "Kizokusei shakai to Son Go seikanka no Konan," *Chugoku chuseishi kenkyu*, ed. Chugoku chuseishi kenkyukai, Tokyo: Tokai Daigaku shuppankai, 1970, p. 142; Tanigawa Michio, *Sekai teikoku no keisai*, Tokyo: Kodan-sha, 1977, p. 89; Yano Chikara, *Mombatsu shakai seiritsushi*, Tokyo: Kokusho kankokai, 1976, p. 568; Miyakawa Hisayuki, *Rikuchoshi kenkyu: seiji shakai hen*, Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1964, pp. 264-265; etc.; also: Hou Wailu, ed. *Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang t'ung-shih*, III, Peking, 1957, pp. 45-46; Donald Holzman, "Les Débuts du système médiéval de choix et de classement des fonctionnaires: Les Neuf Catégories et l'Impartial et Juste," *Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Études chinoises* 1 (1957), p. 388.

of this office. For most of the medieval period in the North, the old Chinese bureaucratic clans never controlled even one third of the appointments. One must not forget, however, that some of the clans who controlled this office under the T'o-pa regime may have been old aristocratic T'o-pa clans. Our study, due to the nature of the available sources, can only show the proportion of Arbiter appointments controlled by the old Chinese clans, and this proportion dropped not only from the Chin to the T'o-pa period, but even more from the T'o-pa Wei to the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i (from 37% to 28% to 20%). It only rose under the Western Wei/Northern Chou regime, when it almost doubled in proportion to its contemporaneous Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i dynasty.

The clans that are considered "established" in this table are those that can be successfully traced back to direct ancestors who held office under the dynasty preceding the Arbiter appointment. Some clans were, of course, much older than others, as we have shown in our earlier dynasty-by-dynasty analysis.³²⁴

The following table lists all clans which held Arbiter appointments under more than one early medieval dynasty, and shows how many appointments they held under each dynasty.

Clan	Choronym	Number of Arbiters							
		Chin	Sung	S.Ch'i	Liang	Ch'en	Wei	N.Ch'i	Chou
CHANG	Wu-chün	—	3	1	1	1	—	—	—
CHIANG	Chi-yang	—	2	2	1	1	—	—	—
CHOU	Ju-nan	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
FU	Pei-ti	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
HO	Lu-chiang	2	—	1	2	—	—	—	—
HSIEH	Ch'en-chün	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	—
HSIN	Lung-hsi	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	1
HSÜ	Tung-hai	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
HSÜ	Tung-kuan	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
HSÜEH	Ho-tung	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1
KAO	Po-hai	—	—	—	—	—	3	2	—
KU	Wu-chün	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	—
K'UNG	K'uai-chi	—	3	1	—	1	—	—	—
LI	Tun-ch'iu	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
LIU	Ho-tung	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
LIU	Nan-yang	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
LIU	P'ing-yüan	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
LU	Wu-chün	3	—	1	3	3	—	—	—

³²⁴ Grafflin, *op.cit.*, p. 148, identifies the conflict between regional and national elites in controlling this office.

Clan	Choronym	Number of Arbiters							
		Chin	Sung	S. Ch'i	Liang	Ch'en	Wei	N. Ch'i	Chou
P'EI	P'EI	—	1	—	—	—	8	—	—
SHEN	Wu-hsing	—	3	1	2	1	—	—	—
SSU-MA	Ho-nei	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	1
TIAO	Po-hai	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
TS'AI	Chi-yang	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
TS'UI	Ch'ing-ho	—	1	—	—	—	10	3	1
TS'UI	Po-ling	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	3
WANG	Lang-ya	1	5	4	2	2	2	—	—
WANG	T'ai-yüan	4	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
YANG	Hung-nung	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	2
YÜ	Hsin-yeh	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	—
YÜ	K'uai-chi	—	—	3	—	1	—	—	—
YÜ	Ying-ch'uan	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
YÜAN	Ch'en-chün	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	—

As we can see from this table, the offices of Arbiters were not, in most cases, occupied by a steady flow of appointees from the same clans. The clans who managed to truly monopolize this office were more an exception than the rule. The Yüan clan from Ch'en-chün held at least one Arbiter post in both the North and the South for the entire duration of the early medieval period. The total of the clan's appointments, however, was only nine. The Ts'ui clan from Ch'ing-ho held more appointments altogether — fifteen — although, except for one, they were all in the North. The highest number of Arbiter posts was held by the Wang clan from Lang-ya. They held sixteen appointments in all.

That members of the same clans occupied these posts intermittently should not be surprising. We have to remember that the appointment to the office of Arbiter was, at best, a token of recognition of one's superior local standing by the court; at worst, a sign of the court's inability to curb the established elite's effort to monopolize political opportunity.

What the appointments of Arbiter reveal, then, is that the most prominent clans in various parts of the South managed to preserve their excellent local standing throughout the early medieval period, while the super-elite managed to control some of the channels of bureaucratic advancement. In the North, the situation was different. The office was primarily used to usher in the new elite which rose with every dynasty.

The real question is how successful the clans who held local Arbiter posts were in securing high bureaucratic positions for their members. We isolated the clans who produced both Arbiters and office-holders with Rank 1, and discovered that clans who held Arbiter posts generally did not manage to translate their influence

into domination of the highest echelons of the state bureaucracy.³²⁵ This was true during the Three Kingdoms period, and also for all the Southern Dynasties. Almost every dynasty had its exceptions: the Wu-chün Lus during the Chin, the Ch'en-chün Yüans during the Liang, the Lang-ya Wangs under several dynasties. But very often the clans who held both Arbiter appointments and official posts with Rank 1 did not belong to the established bureaucratic elite. Generally, it was therefore difficult for clans who held Arbiter posts to convert their local influence into control of the highest levels of the state bureaucracy.³²⁶

A higher number of clans managed to secure both Arbiter appointments and official posts with Rank 1 in the North. On the other hand, since most of the Arbiters and office-holders did not belong to the already established bureaucratic elite, this number mainly reflects the proportion of the new clans who were able to amass enough power to establish themselves in both types of office. More than in the South, the office of Arbiter in the North served as a stepping-stone to the highest offices. Yet, it was not the only, nor the surest way to the top of the Northern official elite. We should recall the two T'o-pa Wei cases: the Liu clan from Ho-tung, six of whose members were posted as Arbiters, but not a single one attained an office with Rank 1; and the P'ei clan from Ho-tung, which held eight Arbiter posts without a single appointment in the highest echelons of the state bureaucracy. In the North, both the office of the Arbiter and the highest levels of the state bureaucracy were completely open to new people.

We have shown that the members of old bureaucratic clans who managed to have their members appointed to the office of Arbiter, at least in the South, did not exert most power over state affairs. But, in that case, who did? To answer this question we have analyzed the backgrounds of all individuals who held civilian and military titles with Rank 1. Our findings are summarized in the following table, which shows the proportion of individuals among the office-holders with Rank 1, who belonged to the established bureaucratic clans, dynasty by dynasty:

Dynasty	Civilian posts Rank 1 (#)	From established clans (#)	From established clans (%)	Military posts Rank 1 (#)	From established clans (#)	From established clans (%)
San-kuo	32	11	34%	25	7	28%
Chin	70	29	41%	41	15	37%
Liu Sung	15	11	73%	12	8	67%
S. Ch'i	5	2	40%	6	3	50%
Liang	10	5	50%	10	2	20%
Ch'en	12	2	17%	11	1	9%

³²⁵ Grafflin calls the phenomenon "privileged incapacity," *op. cit.*, p. 148.

³²⁶ Under the last Southern Dynasty, the Ch'en, the holding of Arbiter posts had absolutely no impact on the highest levels of the state bureaucracy.

N. Wei	121	10	8%	162	22	14%
N. Ch'i	76	14	18%	85	17	20%
N. Chou	370	120	32%	370	120	32%

The table shows a difference in the backgrounds of office-holders with Rank 1 in the South and in the North. Although established bureaucratic clans held a relatively large number of official posts with Rank 1 in the South, when we broke down the "old" clans according to the time when they first achieved national prominence, we discovered that in many cases "old" meant just a dynasty old. The clans who produced office-holders with Rank 1 did not constitute a monolithic group. In the North, as the figures clearly show, the highest offices mainly went to clans ushered onto the center-stage of politics by the new dynasties.

If we make a table of all clans who held official posts with Rank 1 under more than one early medieval dynasty, we can compare the results with the table which revealed the same for the Arbiter posts.

The following table lists all the clans which held civilian posts with Rank 1 under more than one early medieval dynasty, and shows how many appointments they held under each dynasty.

Clan	Choronym	Number of Civilian Posts with Rank 1							
		S. K.	Chin	Sung	S. Ch'i	Liang	Ch'en	Wei	N. Ch'i Chou
CHEN	Ying-ch'uan	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
CHENG	Hsing-yang	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
CH'U	Ho-nan	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
FAN	Tai-chün	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
HO	Ch'en-chün	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
HO-PA	Shen-wu	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1
HOU-MO-CH'EN	Tai	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
HSIAO	Lan-ling	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	1
HSIEH	Ch'en-chün	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-
HSÜEH	Ho-tung	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
HU	An-ting	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	1
HUA	P'ing-yüan	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
KAO	Po-hai	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	4
K'OU	Shang-ku	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
KU	Wu-chün	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
LI	Lung-hsi	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
LI	Tun-ch'iu	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

Clan	Choronym	Number of Civilian Posts with Rank 1								
		S. K.	Chin	Sung	S. Ch'i	Liang	Ch'en	Wei	N. Ch'i	Chou
LIU	Chung-shan	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
LIU	P'eng-ch'eng	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
LIU	P'ing-yüan	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
LIU	Ho-tung	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	7
LIU	Tai-chün	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—
LU	Fan-yang ³²⁷	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	4
LU	Tai-chün	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	2
LU	Wu-chün	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
P'EI	Ho-tung	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
SSU-MA	Ho-nei	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	3
TS'AI	Ch'en-liu	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
TSU	Fan-yang	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—
TS'UI	Ch'ing-ho	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1
TS'UI	Po-ling	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	6
WANG	Lang-ya	—	8	2	1	2	—	1	—	1
WANG	T'ai-yüan	2	2	1	—	2	—	—	—	9
WEI	Shan-wu	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—
YANG	Hung-nung	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	1	9
YANG	T'ai-shan	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
YÜAN	Ch'en-chün	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
YÜAN	Ho-nan ³²⁸	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	4	15

In addition to the clans presented in the above table, two individuals held a civilian office with Rank 1 under both the Liang and the Ch'en — Hou Chen from Pa-hsi,³²⁹ and Hou An-tu from Shih-hsing.³³⁰

Finally, the following table lists all the clans who held military posts with Rank 1 under more than one early medieval dynasty, and shows how many appointments they held under each dynasty.

³²⁷ Fan-yang commandery was named Cho during the Three Kingdoms period.

³²⁸ The Ho-nan Yüans were the T'o-pa Wei imperial clan. They were originally from Tai-chün.

³²⁹ Both titles are mentioned in his biography in CHS 9/153. The *Liang shu* does not mention him.

³³⁰ Both titles are mentioned in his biography in CHS 8/143. The *Liang shu* does not mention him.

Clan	Choronym	Number of Military Posts with Rank 1								
		S. K.	Chin	Sung	S. Ch'i	Liang	Ch'en	Wei	N. Ch'i	Chou
CH'EN	Ying-ch'uan	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
CHENG	Hsing-yang	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	5
FAN	Tai-chün	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
FENG	Po-hai	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	-
HO-LIEN	Sheng-lo	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
HO-PA	Shen-wu	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	3
HOU-MO-CH'EN	Tai	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	5
HSIAO	Lan-ling	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	6
HSIN	Lung-hsi	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	5
HSÜEH	Ho-tung	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	8
HU	An-ting	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
KAO	Po-hai	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	4	1
K'OU	Shang-ku	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	6
KUO	T'ai-yüan	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
LI	Chao-chün	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	1	-
LI	Lung-hsi	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	13
LI	Tun-ch'iu	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
LIU	Chung-shan	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
LIU	P'eng-ch'eng	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
LIU	Ho-tung	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	7
LOU	Tai-chün	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-
LU	Fan-yang	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	4
LU	Tai-chün	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	2
LU	Wu-chün	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
P'EI	Ho-tung	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
SSU-MA	Ho-nei	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	1	3
TS'AI	Ch'en-liu	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
TS'UI	Ch'ing-ho	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1
TS'UI	Po-ling	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	6
WANG	Lang-ya	-	4	2	2	-	-	1	-	1
WANG	T'ai-yüan	2	1	1	-	2	-	1	1	9
WEI	Chü-lu	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
YANG	Hung-nung	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	9
YANG	T'ai-shan	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
YAO	Shang-tang	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
YÜAN	Ch'en-chün	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
YÜAN	Ho-nan	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	15

In addition to the clans presented in the above table, three individuals held a military office with Rank 1 under two different dynasties: Hou Chen from Pa-hsi,³³¹ and Hou An-tu from Shih-hsing³³² under both the Liang and the Ch'en; Wei Ching from Shan-wu under both the T'o-pa Wei and the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i.³³³

The two tables show clearly that the offices with Rank 1, both civilian and military, were not occupied by a steady flow of appointees from the same clans. In fact, the only clans who managed to hold at least one office with Rank 1 for more than two successive dynasties were the T'ai-yüan Wangs, and the Lang-ya Wangs. The success of these two clans, needless to say, was quite an exception. Judging from the analysis of the highest levels of state bureaucracy during the early medieval period, we can safely conclude that the existing mechanism of official promotion, which the elite attempted to use as a barrier against competition for high rank, did not work. China at this time was not ruled by an oligarchy.

³³¹ Both titles are mentioned in his biography in CHS 9/153. The *Liang shu* does not mention him.

³³² Both titles are mentioned in his biography in CHS 8/143. The *Liang shu* does not mention him.

³³³ Both titles are mentioned in his biography in PCS 15/194. The *Wei shu* does not mention him.

IV. Noble Titles

Since the publication of Naito's theory in 1922, there has been no dispute among historians of China in characterizing the Period of Division that followed the collapse of the Later Han dynasty as one of aristocratic rule. According to Naito, "this aristocracy, as an institution, was not given lands and people by the emperor. Consisting of regional leading families based on enduring lineage, monopolizing office, and marrying within its own group, it looked down on the common people as slaves. Effective emperors did exist, but as they were incapable of affecting the standing of these families, they exercised an authority circumscribed by their own recognition of the special privileges of the aristocratic class."¹

Several problems stem from this view. First, Naito's aristocratic interpretation was not supported by any detailed study.² Second, authors who have accepted Naito's theory as a rule fail to fully define the term "aristocracy."³ Even the great medieval scholar Ch'en Yin-k'o, who identified the An Lu-shan Rebellion of the T'ang period as the watershed between the aristocratic and bureaucratic stage of Chinese social history, failed to explain the nature of the aristocratic families.⁴ Mao Han-kuang's application of the term "aristocratic" to any man whose ancestors held official posts for at least two generations before his own official appointment corresponds to Kracke's definition of later bureaucratic elites.⁵ Third, it is not true that "this aristocracy, as an institution, was not given lands and people by the emperor," as Naito has claimed.

With their emphasis on office-holding and the role of official ranks and titles in perpetuating the status of the educated elite, most historians of the early medieval society have neglected the noble titles — the only inheritable aspect of social status.⁶ Noble titles were awarded for special merit in the service of the throne, and were inherited within a dynasty. As a rule, noble titles and their corresponding fiefs were abolished by the succeeding dynasty, which may explain why they were not interesting to scholars who sought to isolate the "enduring lineages" of the entire medieval period.

¹ See Hisayuki Miyakawa, *Rikucho shi kenkyu: seiji shakai hen*, p. 342, n. 1. for the full definition, translated by Dennis Grafflin in "The Great Family in Medieval South China," *HJAS*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (1981), pp. 65-74.

² Kawakatsu Yoshio, a disciple of the "Kyoto School" of Japanese sinology founded by Naito, warned of this in 1962. Kawakatsu, "Six Dynasties Aristocratic Society and the History of Medieval China," *Shiso*, No. 21 (1961), pp. 119-20.

³ For example, Ho P'ing-ti, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China*, p. 259; Reischauer and Fairbank, *East Asia, the Great Tradition*, p. 161.

⁴ According to him, the T'ang history before the An Lu-shan rebellion was characterized by the struggle between the entrenched aristocrats and the rising examination-bureaucrats. See Parts One and Two of his *T'ang-tai cheng-chih shih-lieh lun-kao*.

⁵ See Mao Han-kuang, *Liang-Chin nan-pei ch'ao shih-tsu cheng-chih chih yen-chiu*, pp. 3-8; Edward A. Kracke, "Family vs. Merit in Chinese Civil Service Examinations under the Empire," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, X (no. 2, September 1947); *Civil Service in Early Sung China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953.

⁶ A notable exception is Miyazaki, *op. cit.*, on whose work Grafflin bases his brief discussion of the topic in "Reinventing China," p. 150.

Yet, the opening paragraph of the Treatise on Bureaucracy in the *Hsin T'ang-shu* states: "To distinguish between noble and base, and to classify the merits and abilities, there are ranks (*p'in*), noble titles (*chüeh*), honorific titles (*hsün*), and degrees (*chieh*). They are raised and lowered through periodic examinations. Thus all talent is put to office, and all affairs put in order."⁷ This paragraph indicates that the government indeed took noble titles into account when determining social status, since these are mentioned right after the ranks (*p'in*) — the standard measure of official status since Ts'ao Ts'ao's reforms of the state bureaucracy in A.D. 220. The T'ang rulers were interested in promoting people of their own choice when they introduced state examinations as the stepping-stone into officialdom. The quoted paragraph indicates that noble titles were used to this end as well.

During the early medieval period of Chinese history there were no examinations, and as we well know, official status was determined on the basis of recommendations and classifications by local Arbiters. This is not to say that the Arbiter's classification had a staying effect on one's rank and status. There were many ways in which an individual could prove his worth in the service of the state and gain high distinction, both through official appointments and through enfeoffment. The constant warfare that was part of life in medieval China provided more opportunities for such advancement than would a time of peace. As we recall from the previous chapter, the end of the early medieval period witnessed an unprecedented proliferation of official titles with the highest rank, particularly in the North.

Throughout the early medieval period, noble titles were also used to reward outstanding individual performances. They were used to add special distinction to a particularly deserving individual, who would have already been rewarded with official posts. The essential difference between bureaucratic posts and noble titles was, of course, that the latter were inheritable. They carried an income from a designated fief, which was passed on from father to son, regardless of the son's official or other performance. Only if the heir was disgraced by some unsavory behavior would the title, and the income, be revoked. Thus, the main attribute of this group of nobles was an autonomous status inherited by birth.

Any study of the "medieval Chinese aristocracy" must therefore include an analysis of the nobles. These may have depended on government office to enhance the position they acquired by birth, but only they were aristocrats in the true sense of the word. One cannot study the ruling class of early medieval China and label it "aristocracy" without paying attention to the noble ranks awarded by the throne throughout this period.

The noble titles, their corresponding noble ranks, and the fiefs they carried were hereditary throughout the medieval period in China. This was even true of titles that carried no fief, such as the title Marquis Within the Passes.⁸ The eldest

⁷ I use the term "degree" instead of "class" to avoid confusion that could arise from talking about "class distinctions" in the context of "distinctions between noble and base." A "degree" (*chieh*) is a subdivision of the "rank" (*p'in*). *HTS, chüan* 46, chih 36, p. 1181.

⁸ Wen Hui's biography in SKC 15/479 notes that such a title was awarded his son Sheng, but lapsed later, as Sheng died young. No fief is said to have come with the title.



son by the principal wife carried the hereditary noble line, unless otherwise permitted due to unusual circumstances. When the eldest son died before the father, the title would go his eldest son, the grandson of the original title-holder. If there were no sons to carry the line, a nephew, by either an elder or younger brother, depending on circumstances, usually inherited the title. The line would usually be terminated with the establishment of a new dynasty, or as the result of a crime by its current holder.⁹ When a whole clan came into disfavor at court, the result would be the loss or the downgrading of noble titles and official positions.¹⁰

Noble titles were treated the same way as official titles (i.e. bureaucratic positions), insofar as they, too, were ranked according to the Nine Rank system. In fact, noble titles for the period under discussion are always listed together with the official titles in the *Treatise on Bureaucracy* sections of the dynastic histories, and in the chapters entitled *Shih-kuan* (*chüan* 19-40) in the *T'ung-tien*.

In addition to regular noble titles, Honorary Noble Titles were also awarded, usually to members of clans that already held several other titles.¹¹ The honorary titles were used to recognize merit and award status, without carrying material rewards.¹²

The number of titles and their respective ranks varied from dynasty to dynasty. During the Shang dynasty, reputedly, nobles were divided into three "grades" (*teng*): Duke (*kung*), Marquis (*hou*), and Earl (*po*).¹³ The Chou added two further grades at the bottom of the scale: Viscount (*tzu*), and Baron (*nan*). The Han cut the number of noble titles to four: Prince (*kuo-wang*), District Marquis (*hsien-hou*), Township Marquis (*hsiang-hou*), and Neighborhood Marquis (*t'ing-hou*). The Later Han kept the four Former Han titles.

In the early medieval period, the number of noble titles increased. The basic titles in use were: Prince (*wang*), Duke (*kung*), Marquis (*hou*), Earl (*po*), Viscount (*tzu*) and Baron (*nan*), but they came with an ever-increasing number of qualifiers. A Prince could be enfeoffed with a state or a commandery, resulting in the titles of Prince of a State (*kuo-wang*) or Prince of a Commandery (*chün-wang*); a Duke could be enfeoffed with a district, a commandery, or even a state — a situation peculiar to the Northern Chou dynasty — and if his title carried the prefix "dynasty-founding" (*k'ai-kuo*) it implied additional rank and prestige. This resulted in even more Ducal titles: Duke of a State (*kuo-kung*), Dynasty-founding Commandery Duke (*k'ai-kuo chün-kung*), Commandery Duke (*chün-kung*), Dynasty-founding District Duke (*k'ai-kuo hsien-kung*), or simply District Duke (*hsien-kung*). Marquises, Earls, Viscounts and Barons were generally enfeoffed with districts, and the prefix "dynasty-founding" was used with all of them during early medieval times, except

⁹ E.g. the Dukedom of Lu-ling, held by one branch of the Ch'en-chün Hsiehs from Yang-hsia under the Chin, was abolished due to crime. CS 79/2077. The crime, *tsui*, could consist of anything unacceptable to the court.

¹⁰ In extreme cases the punishment was death.

¹¹ Honorary noble titles were marked by prefix *hsün*, also used as a prefix to civil and military offices to denote seniority. See Hucker, *A Dictionary*, p. 253, entry #2711.

¹² See for instance the case of Hsieh Yen from Ch'en-chün, Yang-hsia, who received the title of Honorary Duke of Wang-ts'ai due to his cousin's merit, CS 79/2077.

¹³ The *T'ung-tien* even gives noble titles for the legendary period preceding the Shang, when the nobles were supposedly divided into five grades, equivalent to the later Chou division. *T'ung-tien*, vol. 2, ch. 19, p. 8b.

for the Three Kingdoms period, to add special distinction. But in addition to regular Marquises, who usually received Rank 2, if not 1, there was a proliferation of Marquis titles, perhaps as a continuation of the Han title Neighborhood Marquis (*t'ing-hou*). During the early medieval period, although not continuously, we encounter titles like Township Marquis (*hsiang-hou*), Chief Township Marquis (*tu-hsiang hou*), Neighborhood Marquis (*t'ing-hou*), Marquis of Metropolitan Residence (*tu-t'ing hou*), two kinds of Marquises Within the Passes (*kuan-nei hou*, and *kuan-chung hou*), Marquis Beyond the Passes (*kuan-wai hou*), and Adjunct Marquises (*lieh-hou*). Some of the latter carried no fief, and were also known under the collective name of "Named Marquises" (*ming-hao hou*), or, more accurately, "Marquises in name only."¹⁴

All these titles will be discussed in more detail under the headings for each dynasty, where we will also show their respective ranks. Then we will look at the individuals who held various titles, analyze their backgrounds, and discover which clans held most titles under each individual dynasty, as well as which clans received noble titles under more than one dynasty. The ultimate result of this inquiry will be an understanding of who the early medieval nobles were, and whether the "noble clans" that endured over a period of more than one dynasty coincided with the "official clans" that lasted as long.

THE THREE KINGDOMS PERIOD

There were nine noble ranks under the San-kuo Wei, according to the *T'ung-tien*.¹⁵ The previously used titles of Prince, Duke, Marquis, Earl, Viscount and Baron were followed by: District Marquis (*hsien-hou*), Township Marquis (*hsiang-hou*), Neighborhood Marquis (*t'ing-hou*),¹⁶ and Marquis Within the Passes (*kuan-nei hou*), the last being an "empty title."¹⁷ The first six titles were all classified as Rank 1.¹⁸ District Marquises bore Rank 3. Township Marquises were given Rank 4; Neighborhood Marquises Rank 5. Marquises Within the Passes and the so-called "Named" Marquises (*ming-hao hou*), namely the Marquises with laudatory prefixes appended to their titles, were all classified as Rank 6.¹⁹

¹⁴ Hucker calls them "Named" Marquises, or "Grandeess of the Third Order," placing them as the 3rd highest of 20 titles of honorary nobility. According to him, these titles were awarded for extraordinary military achievements. Hucker, *A Dictionary*, p. 334, entry #4015.

¹⁵ *T'ung-tien*, vol. 2, ch. 19, p. 8b. The *T'ung-tien* gives no information on the titles of the states of Shu and Wu during the Three Kingdoms period. The *San-kuo chih*, of course, contains no Treatises.

¹⁶ Grafflin calls the last three titles Marquis of a Prefecture, Marquis of a Village, and Marquis of a Hamlet respectively, in his brief discussion of the noble titles instituted by the Western Chin dynasty in "Reinventing China," p. 150. I have used Hucker's terms consistently, even when this seemed ill-advised.

¹⁷ Marquis Within the Passes was an empty title introduced during the Han, forcing its holders to reside in the capital ("within the passes"). For more details see Bielenstein, "The Restoration of the Han Dynasty," Vol. 3, p. 52, *BMFEA*: 39 (1967).

¹⁸ This is clearly stated by *T'ung-tien*, vol. 3, ch. 36, p. 15b.

¹⁹ Hucker also calls "Named" Marquises the "Grandeess of the Third Order," placing them as the 3rd highest of 20 titles of honorary nobility. According to him, these titles were awarded for extraordinary military achievements. Hucker, *A Dictionary*, p. 334, entry #4015. Here, the term does not seem to refer to all "empty" titles, since the title of Marquis Within the Passes is listed separately. Both titles held Rank 6.

The following table shows the noble titles granted under the (San-kuo) Wei and their respective ranks, as specified by the *T'ung-tien*:

Noble Title	In Chinese	Rank
Prince	<i>kuo-wang</i>	1
Duke	<i>kung</i>	1
Marquis	<i>hou</i>	1
Earl	<i>po</i>	1
Viscount	<i>tzu</i>	1
Baron	<i>nan</i>	1
District Marquis	<i>hsien-hou</i>	3
Township Marquis	<i>hsiang-hou</i>	4
Neighborhood Marquis	<i>t'ing-hou</i>	5
Marquis Within the Passes	<i>kuan-nei hou</i>	6
"Named" Marquis	<i>ming-hao hou</i>	6

This list does not take into account several titles that appear in the *San-kuo chih* text itself. The title *tu-hsiang hou* is a variant of the title *hsiang-hou* (Township Marquis). Hucker calls it Chief Township Marquis, and I have adopted his appellation.²⁰ Chief Township Marquis held noble rank 4. Similarly, the title *tu-t'ing hou* is a variant of the title *t'ing-hou* (Neighborhood Marquis), which I render as Marquis of Metropolitan Residence, following Hucker.²¹ It is unclear to me why he renders the titles *tu-hsiang hou* and *tu-t'ing hou* differently — presumably they both implied metropolitan residence without territorial fief — but I follow his rendition. A Marquis of Metropolitan Residence held noble rank 5.²²

As stated earlier, the title Marquis Within the Passes (*kuan-nei hou*) was an "empty" title, as it carried no fief. The same is true of the variant of the same title, *kuan-chung hou*, sometimes translated as Marquis of Kuan-chung.²³ Although these two titles seem to be the same, since both *kuan-nei* and *kuan-chung* refer to the region within the passes through which the Yellow River flows from the highlands to the North China Plain in modern Shensi Province, the title *kuan-nei hou* appears to have been higher. Liu Fang's biography in SKC 14/456-462 states that Fang's noble title was raised from *kuan-nei hou* to Neighborhood Marquis of Wei-shou (*Wei-shou t'ing-hou*), while that of his friend and colleague Sun Tzu changed from *kuan-chung hou* to *kuan-nei hou*. Indeed, their later promotions always kept Sun

²⁰ Hucker, *A Dictionary*, p. 532, entry #7231. He places this title strictly into the San-kuo period, and claims that it was reserved for some members of the Sun clan under the San-kuo Wu. As my lists below show, there was no such restriction.

²¹ Hucker, *A Dictionary*, p. 543, entry #7298. This title entailed no territorial fiefs, although it was not restricted to imperial relatives, as he suggests.

²² If it is true that these two titles carried no territorial fief, they would be an exception to the rule that "empty titles" ranked below 5.

²³ Hucker, *A Dictionary*, p. 284, entry #3282. He translates *kuan-nei hou* as Marquis of Kuan-nei, and says that it was the 19th of 20 (i. e. the second highest) titles of nobility, which is a reference to the Han. Ibid., p. 286, entry #3321. At this time it was the second lowest title.

Tzu a step behind Liu Fang. Since the title *kuan-nei hou* had Rank 6, the title *kuan-chung hou* presumably had Rank 7.

There were instances, it would seem, where the title *kuan-nei hou* did carry a fief. Under the San-kuo rulers, higher noble titles were often divided upon the death of the original recipient in order to give his relatives, other than the eldest son, a title and a fief. Sometimes, the division took place immediately upon receipt of the original fief. One hundred households were taken from Tung Chao's fief the year after he became Township Marquis of Yu, to turn his younger brother Fang into Marquis Within the Passes (*kuan-nei hou*).²⁴ Another one hundred were taken four years later from his increased fief of one thousand households that went with his new title of (District) Marquis of Lo-p'ing, to give his son the title of Marquis Within the Passes (*kuan-nei hou*).²⁵

The most common situation was the award of the title of Adjunct Marquis (*lieh-hou*) when titles and fiefs were divided to accommodate other family members.²⁶ Unfortunately, the sources do not discuss this title at all. Hucker provides three definitions of the title *lieh-hou*.²⁷ First, he renders it as Adjunct Marquis and defines it as a title of nobility awarded for extraordinary merit in state service, in contrast to the Imperial Marquis (*chu-hou*) who inherited noble status as the son of a Prince (*wang*). Second, he renders it as Marquis-consort, and defines it as a title given to the husbands of Imperial Princesses. Third, he renders it as Grandee of the First Order, and defines it as the highest of six categories of Marquises in San-kuo Wei. None of these definitions seems accurate for the period under study, as the title *lieh-hou* was awarded almost exclusively to the relatives of title holders, usually by division of the fief upon the death of the primary title-holder. Sometimes, close relatives (such as younger sons, brothers, nephews or grandsons) received the title due to the continuous meritorious deeds of the living title-holder. In all cases, the title of *lieh-hou* was "linked" to a primary title of Marquis. The recipient of the title was granted only a minimal portion of the original fief — a few hundred households — and therefore one assumes that he was ranked below the title-holders to whom he was "linked." In fact, due to the order in which the title of *lieh-hou* is listed when mentioned with other titles, it would appear that it was ranked below Neighborhood Marquis, but above Marquis Within the Passes. The title of Marquis Within the Passes was an empty title. The title of Adjunct Marquis carried a fief, obtained through division. Based on this, Adjunct Marquis should probably be closer in rank to Neighborhood Marquis, with Noble Rank 5. However, the sources also mention some cases where relatives obtained the title of Marquis Within the Passes through the same kind of division that produced Adjunct Marquises. In fact, during the Three Kingdoms period it seems to have been almost

²⁴ SKC 14/440

²⁵ SKC 14/442

²⁶ See, for instance, the biographies of Chung Yao (SKC 13/399), Hua Hsin (SKC 13/406), Wang Lang (SKC 13/414), Ch'eng Yü (SKC 14/429), etc. This occurs with almost every title under the Wei, far too often for all examples to be cited.

²⁷ Hucker, *A Dictionary*, p. 311, entry #3698. First, he defines Adjunct Marquis as contrasting to an Imperial Marquis (*chu-hou*) who inherited noble status as the son of a Prince (*wang*).

standard practice to divide a father's fief among several sons. The eldest would inherit the full title and most of the fief, and the others would be ennobled as Adjunct Marquises and Marquises Within the Passes.²⁸ At first glance it seems as though the title of Marquis Within the Passes also carried a fief in such cases. But since it is explicitly discussed as an "empty title," another explanation emerges. During the Three Kingdoms period some noble titles may have been available for sale. But an individual did not put up cash or other valuables to obtain a title. The state took back portions of fiefs it had given out, while awarding, in return, empty titles to eligible relatives. This could be the reason why the sources never mention the fief that went with such titles. A typical record would state that the eldest son inherited the father's full title, that three hundred households were partitioned off, and that the second son was ennobled as Adjunct Marquis, etc.²⁹

I have compiled a list of all the people who are recorded to have held noble titles during the San-kuo period.³⁰ There were four hundred and eighty-one such individuals recorded in the sources. The number of noble title-holding clans recorded for the Three Kingdoms period was one hundred and eighty-four.

Only fifty-three of these individuals (11%) belonged to established office-holding clans. There were fifteen such clans in all (just 8% of all clans). The clans were: the Chang clan from Chien-wei, the Ch'en clan from Ying-ch'uan, the Chou clan from Lu-chiang, the Chung clan from Ying-ch'uan, the Chung-li clan from K'uai-chi, the Fa clan from Fu-feng, the Fu clan from Pei-ti, the Ho clan from Ch'en-chün, the Hsün clan from Ying-ch'uan, the Lu clan from Cho-chün,³¹ the Lu clan from Wu-chün, the P'ang clan from Hsiang-yang, the Tung clan from Lung-hsi, the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan, and the Yüan clan from Ju-nan. All of them were well established since the Later Han dynasty. But not all of these clans held many noble titles.

In fact, the clans who held most titles were a rather different group, listed below in descending order based on the number of titles held:

Ts'ao (P'ei-kuo)	23	P'ang (Nan-an)	7	Chu (Tan-yang)	5
Hsia-hou (P'ei-kuo)	18	Chang (P'ei-kuo)	6	Hsü (Ch'iao-kuo)	5
Chen (Chung-shan)	9	Ch'eng (Tung-chün)	6	Hsü (Hu-tung)	5
Chung (Ying-ch'uan)	9	Chu-ko (Lang-ya)	6	Lü (Ju-nan)	5
Hsün (Ying-ch'uan)	9	Tsang (T'ai-shan)	6	Teng (I-yang)	5
Chang (Ho-chien)	7	Wang (Tung-lai)	6	Wang (T'ai-yüan)	5
Huan (Ch'ang-sha)	7	Chang (P'eng-ch'eng)	5	Wang (Tung-hai)	5
Lu (Wu-chün)	7	Ch'en (Ying-ch'uan)	5	Wen (Nan-yang)	5

²⁸ Many examples can be found in the list of all title-holders in Miscevic, *Oligarchy or Social Mobility*, Ph.D. thesis, Chapter 4.

²⁹ It is not clear whether the nobles received an income from the partitioned fiefs.

³⁰ Unfortunately, there is no space here to list all title-holders. For the full list, including full titles and fiefs, the corresponding Noble Ranks, and the rank of the highest office held by each nobleman, see Miscevic, *Oligarchy or Social Mobility*, Ph.D. thesis, Chapter 4.

³¹ The Cho district was part of the Cho commandery under the San-kuo Wei, but came under the Fan-yang commandery under the Chin, and later. The Cho-chün Lus were, therefore, really the later rather famous Fan-yang Lus.

Among these clans with the highest number of titles only the Ying-ch'uan Ch'ens, the Ying-ch'uan Chungs, the Ying-ch'uan Hsüns, the Wu-chün Lus and the T'ai-yüan Wangs belonged to the already established office-holding elite. We may therefore conclude that most of the nobles during the Three Kingdoms period belonged to a newly privileged group.

We should observe that most of the noble titles awarded at this time were of a relatively low rank, and generally of lower rank than the official titles awarded to the same people. Only five individuals in all held noble titles with Rank 1: Ch'en Chun from Ying-ch'uan; Kung-sun Yüan from Liao-tung; and Ts'ao Ch'ih, Ts'ao Jen and Ts'ao T'ai from P'ei-kuo. Of the three Ts'aos only Jen actually had Rank 1. Ch'ih's title was posthumous. T'ai inherited Jen's title, only to have it changed to District Marquis, which carried Rank 3. Ch'en Chun's case notwithstanding, belonging to an old office-holding clan during the Three Kingdoms period insured neither an office nor a noble title of the highest rank.

The following table shows the breakdown of San-kuo noble titles in terms of their rank. Only the highest title held by each individual is recorded.

Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4	Rank 5	Rank 6	Rank ?	Total
5	0	157	77	122	64	56	481

Merely one third of the noblemen of the Three Kingdoms period (33.7%) held titles with Noble Rank 3 or above, but only 1% held titles with Noble Rank 2 or above. The majority of noblemen held titles with middle and low ranks.

CHIN

According to the *T'ung-tien*, there were fifteen noble titles under the Chin. The earlier-established higher ranks of Prince, Duke, Marquis, Earl, Viscount and Baron³² were followed by: Dynasty-founding Commandery Duke (*k'ai-kuo chün-kung*), Dynasty-founding District Duke (*k'ai-kuo hsien-kung*), Dynasty-founding Commandery Marquis (*k'ai-kuo chün-hou*), Dynasty-founding District Marquis (*k'ai-kuo hsien-hou*), Dynasty-founding District Earl (*k'ai-kuo hsien-po*), Dynasty-founding District Viscount (*k'ai-kuo hsien-tzu*), Dynasty-founding District Baron (*k'ai-kuo hsien-nan*), Township Marquis (*hsiang-hou*), Neighborhood Marquis (*t'ing-hou*), and Marquis Within the Passes (*kuan-nei hou*).³³ The *T'ung-tien* makes no mention of the titles Marquis of Metropolitan Residence (*tu hsiang-hou*) and Chief Neighborhood Marquis (*tu t'ing-hou*), although several people received such titles during the Chin period.³⁴ If all these titles are added together, the *T'ung-tien* number notwithstanding, there were in fact twenty noble titles under the Chin.

³² *T'ung-tien*, vol. 2, ch. 19, p. 81B, lists the six titles, but they are not classified according to their rank in *T'ung-tien*, vol. 3, ch. 36, pp. 16b-17b.

³³ *T'ung-tien*, vol. 2, ch. 19, pp. 81B-82A. For reasons stated above, the title Marquis Within the Passes did not count as one of the fifteen titles.

³⁴ See, for instance, the titles of Chou Chin in CS 58/1575, Ch'u P'ou in CS 93/2414, Ho Ch'ung in CS 77/2028, etc.

Large Princedoms consisted of 20,000 households and three armies with 5,000 soldiers in all. Second grade Princedoms consisted of 10,000 households and two armies with 3,000 soldiers in all. Minor Princedoms consisted of 5,000 households and one army with 1,500 soldiers. Dukedoms were set at 5,000 households and Marquisates at under 5,000 households, with each receiving an army of 1,000 soldiers. The fiefs of other nobles diminished in size following the ranking scale, and none of them were equipped with an army.

Dynasty-founding Commandery Dukes and Dynasty-founding District Dukes all held Rank 1. Dynasty-founding District Marquises, Dynasty-founding District Earls, Dynasty-founding District Viscounts, and Dynasty-founding District Barons held Rank 2.³⁵ District Marquises were given Rank 3, Township Marquises Rank 4, and Neighborhood Marquises Rank 5. As under the (San-kuo) Wei, Marquises Within the Passes and the "Named" Marquises received Rank 6. In addition, Marquises Beyond the Passes were ranked 7.³⁶

The following table shows all noble titles granted under the Chin and their respective ranks:

Noble Title	In Chinese	Rank
Prince	<i>kuo-wang</i>	1
Duke	<i>kung</i>	1
Marquis	<i>hou</i>	1
Earl	<i>po</i>	1
Viscount	<i>tzu</i>	1
Baron	<i>nan</i>	1
Dynasty-founding Commandery Duke	<i>k'ai-kuo chün kung</i>	1
Dynasty-founding District Duke	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien kung</i>	1
Dynasty-founding District Marquis	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien hou</i>	2
Dynasty-founding District Earl	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien po</i>	2
Dynasty-founding District Viscount	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien tzu</i>	2
Dynasty-founding District Baron	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien nan</i>	2
District Marquis	<i>hsien-hou</i>	3
Township Marquis	<i>hsiang-hou</i>	4
Marquis of Metropolitan Residence	<i>tu-hsiang hou</i>	4
Neighborhood Marquis	<i>t'ing-hou</i>	5
Chief Neighborhood Marquis	<i>tu-t'ing hou</i>	5
Marquis Within the Passes	<i>kuan-nei hou</i>	6
"Named" Marquis	<i>ming-hao hou</i>	6
Marquis Beyond the Passes	<i>kuan-wai hou</i>	7

³⁵ For some reason the *T'ung-tien* omits the rank of Dynasty-founding Commandery Marquis in vol. 3, ch. 37, pp. 16b-17b, although it lists the title in vol. 2, ch. 19, p. 9a.

³⁶ "Beyond the Passes" (*kuan-wai*) contrasts with "Within the Passes," but the reference is not specific. This, too, was an "empty title," and it did not count as one of the fifteen regular noble titles.

I have compiled a list of all the people who are recorded to have held noble titles under the Chin.³⁷ There were four hundred and thirty-six such individuals recorded in the sources. The number of noble title-holding clans recorded for the Chin dynasty was one hundred and eighteen.

One hundred and seventy of these individuals (just under 39%) belonged to the already established office-holding clans of the time. There were thirty-four such clans in all (just under 28% of all noble clans). The clans were: the Ch'en clan from Lin-huai (established since the Three Dynasties period, with six noblemen); the Cheng clan from Hsing-yang (established since the Later Han, with six noblemen); the Chi clan from Ch'iao-kuo (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with four noblemen); the Chia clan from Wu-wei (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with one nobleman); the Chu-ko clan from Lang-ya (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with four noblemen); the Fu clan from Pei-ti (established since the Later Han, with eight noblemen); the Ho clan from Ch'en-kuo (established since the Later Han, with three noblemen); the Ho clan from Ju-nan (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with four noblemen); the Hsün clan from Ying-ch'uan (established since the Later Han, with twenty noblemen); the Hu clan from Huai-nan (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with two noblemen); the Hua clan from P'ing-yüan (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with eight noblemen); the Huan clan from Ch'iao-kuo (established since the Later Han, with eighteen noblemen); the Juan clan from Ch'en-liu (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with three noblemen); the Kao clan from Ch'en-liu (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with only one nobleman); the Ku clan from Wu-chün (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with four noblemen); the Kuo clan from T'ai-yüan (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with three noblemen); the Liu clan from P'ei-kuo (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with only one nobleman); the Liu clan from Tung-lai (established since the Later Han, with three noblemen); the Lu clan from Fan-yang (established since the Later Han, with two noblemen);³⁸ the P'ei clan from Ho-tung (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with nine noblemen); the Sun clan from Lo-an (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with four noblemen); the Sun clan from T'ai-yüan (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with two noblemen); the Ts'ai clan from Ch'en-liu (established since the Later Han, with only one nobleman); the Ts'ao clan from Ch'iao-kuo (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with only one nobleman); the Tu clan from Ching-chao (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with three noblemen);³⁹ the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan (established since the Later Han, with nineteen noblemen); the Wang clan from Tung-

³⁷ Unfortunately, there is no space here to list all title-holders. For the full list, including full titles and fiefs, the corresponding Noble Ranks, and the rank of the highest office held by each nobleman, see Miscevic, *Oligarchy or Social Mobility*, Ph.D. thesis, Chapter 4.

³⁸ The Cho district in the Fan-yang commandery, where the Lus were from, was part of the Cho commandery under the San-kuo Wei.

³⁹ The Ching-chao Tus in fact first emerged during the Former Han dynasty, but they lost some of their prestige by the Three Kingdoms period, when they emerged again as members of the office-holding national elite.

hai (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with three noblemen); the Wen clan from T'ai-yüan (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with four noblemen); the Yang clan from Hung-nung (established since the Later Han, with two noblemen); the Yang clan from T'ai-shan (established since the Later Han, with six noblemen); the Ying clan from Ju-nan (established since the Later Han, with two noblemen); the Yü clan from K'uai-chi (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with four noblemen); the Yü clan from Ying-ch'uan (established since the Later Han, with seven noblemen); and the Yüan clan from Ch'en-chün (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with six noblemen).

On average, noble clans who were also old office-holding clans held more noble titles per clan than their unestablished counterparts. The clans who held most noble titles under the Chin are listed below in descending order according to the number of titles they held:

Wang (Lang-ya)	29	Mao (Hsing-yang)	9	Cheng (Hsing-yang)	6
Hsieh (Ch'en-kuo)	21	P'ei (Ho-tung)	9	Ch'ih (Kao-p'ing)	6
Hsün (Ying-ch'uan)	20	Fu (Pei-ti)	8	Chou (I-yang)	6
Wang (T'ai-yüan)	19	Hua (P'ing-yüan)	8	P'ien (Chi-yin)	6
Huan (Ch'iao-kuo)	18	Chia (P'ing-yang)	7	Yang (T'ai-shan)	6
Chang (An-ting)	11	Liu (Kuang-p'ing)	7	Yüan (Ch'en-chün)	6
Chou (Ju-nan)	11	Yü (Ying-ch'uan)	7		
T'ao (Po-yang)	11	Ch'en (Lin-huai)	6		

Eleven of these clans with the highest number of noblemen (the Lin-huai Ch'ens, the Hsing-yang Chengs, the Pei-ti Fuses, the Ying-ch'uan Hsüns, the P'ing-yüan Huas, the Ch'iao-kuo Huans, the Ho-tung P'eis, the T'ai-yüan Wangs, the T'ai-shan Yangs, the Ying-ch'uan Yüs, and the Ch'en-chün Yüans) belonged to the already established bureaucratic elite. This is a higher number than during the Three Kingdoms period, but it is not overwhelming. Moreover, if we refer back to the list of Three Kingdoms clans with the highest number of noblemen, we discover that only the Ying-ch'uan Hsüns and the T'ai-yüan Wangs appear on both lists. In both clans the number of noblemen increased under the Chin: from nine to twenty for the Hsüns, and from five to nineteen for the Wangs.

In addition to the Hsüns and Wangs, seventeen other clans held noble titles during both the Three Kingdoms period and the Chin. The clans were: the Chang clan from Fan-yang/Cho (with two noblemen each during the two periods); the Chia clan from Wu-wei (with four noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period and one nobleman under the Chin); the Ho clan from Ju-nan (with one nobleman during the Three Kingdoms period and four noblemen during the Chin); the Hu clan from Huai-nan/Ch'u-kuo (with two noblemen for each period); the Hua clan from P'ing-yüan (with three noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period and eight during the Chin); the Kao clan from Ch'en-liu (with two noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period and only one during the Chin); the Kuo clan from T'ai-yüan (with three noblemen for each period); the Liu clan from Nan-yang (with

two noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period and one during the Chin); the Liu clan from P'ei-kuo (with two noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period and one during the Chin); the Lu clan from Fan-yang/Cho (with two noblemen for each period); the Ma clan from Fu-feng (with two noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period and one during the Chin); the P'ei clan from Ho-tung (with two noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period, and nine during the Chin); the Sun clan from T'ai-yüan (with two noblemen for each period); the Ts'ao clan from P'ei-kuo/Ch'iao (with twenty-three noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period, but only one during the Chin); the Wang clan from Tung-hai (with five noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period, and three under the Chin); and the Yen clan from Pa-hsi (with two noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period, and one during the Chin).

Only in one case did a clan hold the same noble title with the same fief during these two periods. Yen Tsuan from Pa-hsi received the title of Township Marquis of P'ing-lo from the Chin court — the same title that his grandfather P'u received from the San-kuo Wei rulers, and his father P'u inherited upon the elder P'u's death.⁴⁰ Tsuan, his biography points out, received the title based on his own merit.⁴¹

In three cases clans received noble titles from Chin rulers with the same rank as their ancestors received during the Three Kingdoms period: Noble Rank 3 for the Lus from Fang-yang/Cho and the Suns from T'ai-yüan, and Noble Rank 1 for the only Ts'ao from P'ei-kuo/Ch'iao to receive a title under the Chin.⁴² In all other instances the titles received under the Chin were considerably higher in rank than the ones held during the Three Kingdoms period.

We should recall, however, that the rank of most San-kuo noble titles was relatively low — only five individuals held noble titles with Rank 1 during the entire Three Kingdoms period. The ranking of nobles titles awarded during the Chin was much higher on average. The following table shows the breakdown of noble titles in terms of their rank. Only the highest title held by each individual is recorded.

Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4	Rank 5	Rank 6	Total
162	13	184	25	39	13	436

The noblemen of the Chin period were more privileged than their counterparts during the Three Kingdoms period. Fully 82% of all Chin noblemen held titles with Noble Rank 3 or above; 40% held titles with Noble Rank 2 or above, and as many as 37% held titles with Noble Rank 1. A higher percentage of them came from the already established elite of office-holders, and on average, their Noble Rank surpassed the rank of their official posts.

⁴⁰ The two P'u names are written with different characters. CS 48/1349.

⁴¹ CS 48/1349.

⁴² Some of the twenty-three Ts'aos who held noble titles during the Three Kingdoms period held, of course, lower titles, but the highest title they received was with Rank 1.

LIU SUNG, SOUTHERN CH'I AND LIANG

According to the *T'ung-tien*, the Liu Sung dynasty retained all the Chin noble titles and their ranks, but it allotted three armies to each Princedom regardless of its size. The Southern Ch'i and Liang dynasties did likewise.⁴³ The *Sung shu* only lists four noble titles in its Treatise on Bureaucracy — that of District Marquis (*hsien-hou*) with Rank 3, Township Marquis (*hsiang-hou*) with Rank 4, Neighborhood Marquis (*t'ing-hou*) with Rank 5, and Marquis Within the Passes (*kuan-nei hou*) with Rank 6. The *Nan Ch'i shu* does not list any noble titles in its brief section on bureaucracy, and the *Liang shu* does not even have such a section. We must therefore take the *T'ung-tien* claim at face value, and rely on the Chin ranking scale for noble titles that had already been in use during the Chin.

Our examination of the Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i and Liang dynastic histories reveals, however, that there were several noble titles in use for the first time during this period, namely during the Liu Sung dynasty. Titles like District Marquis of the 5th Rank (*wu-teng hsien-hou*),⁴⁴ District Viscount of the 5th Rank (*wu-teng hsien-tzu*),⁴⁵ District Baron of the 5th Rank (*wu-teng hsien-nan*).⁴⁶ Presumably, there was also a District Earl of the 5th Rank (*wu-teng hsien-po*), but we have not encountered such a title. We have taken the "Fifth Rank" here (*wu-teng*) to be the equivalent of Rank 5 on our nine-rank scale, but that is not necessarily correct. None of the "*wu-teng*" titles ever mention a fief, so they may have been "empty titles."

For more detail regarding the old Chin titles, one should refer to the previous section of this chapter. The following table shows the Chin noble titles found to be still in use during the subsequent three Southern Dynasties, with the addition of the new titles. It specifies their respective ranks.

Noble Title	In Chinese	Rank
Dynasty-founding Commandery Duke	<i>k'ai-kuo chün kung</i>	1
Dynasty-founding District Duke	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien kung</i>	1
Dynasty-founding District Marquis	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien hou</i>	2
Dynasty-founding District Earl	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien po</i>	2
Dynasty-founding District Viscount	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien tzu</i>	2
Dynasty-founding District Baron	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien nan</i>	2
District Marquis	<i>hsien-hou</i>	3
District Earl	<i>hsien-po</i>	3

⁴³ *T'ung-tien* states so in Ch. 19, p. 9, further commenting on particular designations used for Princes, Dukes, and other nobles in this period, i.e. "One Who Orders Within the Borders" (*ling ching-nei*), "One Who Instructs Within the Borders" (*chiao ching-nei*), etc. Chapter 37, pp. 18-22, where the ranks are discussed, makes no mention of noble titles. The *Nan Ch'i shu* does not mention noble titles in its chapter on bureaucracy either, other than when classifying various members of the staff of fiefs who were state employees.

⁴⁴ For this title see, for instance, the title of Chiang I from Chi-yang in SS 53/1525.

⁴⁵ For this title see, for instance, the title of Meng Lung-fu from P'ing-ch'ang in SS 47/1408.

⁴⁶ For this title see, for instance, the title of Chi Han from Feng-i in SS 65/1717.

District Viscount	<i>hsien-tzu</i>	3
District Baron	<i>hsien-nan</i>	3
Township Marquis	<i>hsiang-hou</i>	4
Neighborhood Marquis	<i>t'ing-hou</i>	5
District Marquis of the 5th Rank	<i>wu-teng hsien-hou</i>	5
District Viscount of the 5th Rank	<i>wu-teng hsien-tzu</i>	5
District Baron of the 5th Rank	<i>wu-teng hsien-nan</i>	5
Marquis Within the Passes	<i>kuan-nei hou</i>	6
"Named" Marquis	<i>ming-hao hou</i>	6
Marquis Beyond the Passes	<i>kuan-wai hou</i>	7

The titles seem to have been rather egalitarian in their nominal rank, but the true differences among them were expressed through the size of the fief they carried. The typical fief allotted to a Commandery Duke was 3000 households. For a District Duke it was 2000 households, for a District Marquis 1000 households, for a District Earl 800 households, for a District Viscount 500 households, and for a District Baron 300-400 households. However, there were many variations in the size of the fiefs, so that a Baron sometimes had a larger fief than a Marquis. These differences will be brought out under the subheadings for each dynasty.

Liu Sung

I have compiled a list of all the people who are recorded to have held noble titles under the Liu Sung.⁴⁷ There were two hundred and thirty-eight such individuals recorded in the sources. The number of noble title-holding clans recorded for the Liu Sung dynasty was one hundred and seventy-nine.

Eighty-four of these individuals (just over 35%) belonged to the already established office-holding clans of the time. There were twenty-one such clans in all (well under 27% of all the noble clans). The clans were: the Cheng clan from Hsingyang (established since the Later Han, with one nobleman); the Ch'u clan from Ho-nan (established since the Chin, with six noblemen); the Fan clan from Shunyang (established since the Chin, with two noblemen); the Fu clan from Pei-ti (established since the Later Han, with two noblemen); the Ho clan from Lu-chiang (established since the Chin, with just one nobleman); the Hsia-hou clan from Ch'iao-kuo (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with only one nobleman); the Hsieh clan from Ch'en-chün (established since the Chin, with five noblemen); the Hsü clan from Tung-hai (established since the Chin, with four noblemen); the Hsü clan from Tung-kuan (established since the Chin, with just one nobleman); the Ku clan from Wu-chün (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with four noblemen); the Kuo clan from T'ai-yüan (established since the

⁴⁷ Unfortunately, there is no space here to list all title-holders. For the full list, including full titles and fiefs, the corresponding Noble Ranks, and the rank of the highest office held by each nobleman, see Miscevic, *Oligarchy or Social Mobility*, Ph.D. thesis, Chapter 4.

Three Kingdoms period, with one nobleman); the K'ung clan from K'uai-chi (established since the Chin, with one nobleman); the Liu clan from Nan-yang (established since the Chin, with two noblemen); the Liu clan from P'ei-kuo (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with five nobleman); the Mao clan from Hsing-yang (established since the Chin, with one nobleman); the Shen clan from Wu-hsing (established since the Chin, with eleven noblemen); the Tu clan from Ching-chao (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with two noblemen);⁴⁸ the Wang clan from Lang-ya (established since the Chin, with twenty-four noblemen); the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan (established since the Later Han, with six noblemen); the Yin clan from Ch'en-chün (established since the Chin, with two noblemen); the Yü clan from Ying-ch'uan (established since the Later Han, with two noblemen); and the Yüan clan from Ch'en-chün (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with four noblemen).

As we can see, the noble clans who were also old office-holding clans were a rather diverse group. Four of these old office-holding clans (19% of old clans, but only 5% of all noble clans) had originated during the Later Han, comprising eleven noblemen of the Liu Sung period (under 4% of the recorded total). Five of the clans (23% of old clans, but only 6% of all noble clans) had originated during the Three Kingdoms period, and they comprised thirteen noblemen of the Liu Sung period (just under 5.5% of the recorded total). By far the largest number of "old" office-holding clans had emerged during the immediately preceding Chin dynasty, namely twelve clans (57% of old clans, but only 15% of all noble clans), comprising sixty Liu Sung noblemen (25% of the recorded total). Yet, 64% of all recorded Liu Sung noblemen belonged to clans that were not established as office-holding clans prior to this time.

The clans who held the highest number of noble titles under the Liu Sung are listed below, in descending order, according to the number of titles they held:

Liu (P'eng-ch'eng)	24	Wang (Pei-hai)	7	Chu (P'ei-chün)	5
Wang (Lang-ya)	24	Ch'u (Ho-nan)	6	Hsieh (Ch'en-chün)	5
Shen (Wu-hsing)	11	Meng (P'ing-ch'ang)	6	Liu (P'ei-chün)	5
T'an (Kao-p'ing)	10	Wang (T'ai-yüan)	6		
Liu (Tung-kuan)	9	Chang (Wu-chün)	5		

About half these clans with the highest number of noblemen (the Ho-nan Ch'us, the Ch'en-chün Hsiehs, the P'ei-chün Lius, the Wu-hsing Shens, the Lang-ya Wangs, and the T'ai-yüan Wangs) belonged to the already established official elite. Of the two clans with an identically high number of noblemen, the P'eng-ch'eng Lius and the Lang-ya Wangs, both with twenty-four noblemen, only the Wangs were an already established office-holding clan. They had already had twenty-nine noblemen during the preceding Chin dynasty.

⁴⁸ The Ching-chao Tus in fact first emerged during the Former Han dynasty, but they lost some of their prestige by the Three Kingdoms period, when they emerged again as members of the office-holding national elite.

If we refer back to the lists of clans with the highest number of noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period and the Chin, we notice that only the T'ai-yüan Wangs appear on all three lists, with an impressive showing on all of them. In terms of endurance and numbers, they were truly a noble clan par excellence.

Apart from the T'ai-yüan Wangs, only two other clans held noble titles during the Three Kingdoms, the Chin, and the Liu Sung. These were: the Liu clan from Nan-yang (with two noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period, one during the Chin, and two under the Liu Sung) and the Liu clan from P'ei-kuo (with two noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period, one during the Chin, and five under the Liu Sung).

Only in one case did a Liu Sung clan hold the same noble title with the same fief as it did during the previous period. Liu Tan from Nan-yang held the title of District Baron of the 5th Rank of An-chung, which was then inherited by his nephew Liu Chan. Tan and Chan were not directly related to Liu Ch'iao, who held the title of Baron of An-chung under the Chin, but they obviously belonged to the same clan which had descended from the Han ruling family. Their ancestors had held the title of Marquis of An-chung for six generations under the Han.⁴⁹

The clans who received noble titles with the same rank from Liu Sung rulers as their ancestors received during the Chin period were: the Ch'u clan from Ho-nan (Noble Ranks 3 and 4); The Tsung clan from Nan-yang (Noble Rank 3); the Wang clan from Lang-ya (all noble ranks from 1 to 5); and Yüan from Ch'en-chün (Noble Rank 3). The Wang clan from T'ai-yüan held only noble titles with Rank 3 under the Liu Sung, whereas their titles under the Chin ranged from 1 to 6. The Yü clan from Ying-ch'uan held only noble titles with Rank 5 under the Liu Sung; under the Chin their titles ranged in rank from 1 to 6. In all other instances the noble titles received under the Liu Sung were considerably lower in rank than those held during the Chin period. We should recall that the ranks of noble titles awarded during the Chin were much higher than those awarded during the Three Kingdoms period.

The following table shows the breakdown of Liu Sung noble titles in terms of their rank. Only the highest title held by each individual is recorded.

Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4	Rank 5	Rank 6	Total
27	11	163	3	31	2	237

The noblemen of the Liu Sung period held titles with relatively high rank. Almost 85% of all noblemen held titles with Noble Rank 3 or above, although only 16% held titles with Noble Rank 2 or above, and just over 11% held titles with Noble Rank 1. An average Liu Sung nobleman, therefore, held a title with the middle rank. The percentage of noblemen who belonged to the already established elite of office-holders, was more or less the same under the Chin and the Liu Sung — much higher than during the Three Kingdoms period, but far too low to prove the existence of an oligarchy.

⁴⁹ Liu Ch'iao's biography in CS 61/1672 mentions only six generations.

Southern Ch'i

I have compiled a list of all the people who are recorded to have held noble titles under the Southern Ch'i.⁵⁰ There were sixty-seven such individuals recorded in the sources. The number of noble title-holding clans recorded for the Southern Ch'i dynasty was forty-three.

Twenty-five of these individuals (just over 37%) belonged to the already established office-holding clans of the time. There were twelve such clans in all (almost 28% of all the noble clans). The clans were: the Chang clan from Wu-chün (established since the Liu Sung, with two noblemen); the Chiang clan from Chi-yang (established since the Liu Sung, with one nobleman); the Chou clan from I-hsing (established from the Three Kingdoms period, with one nobleman); the Ch'u clan from Ho-nan (established since the Chin, with three noblemen); the Hsiao clan from Nan-lan-ling (established since the Liu Sung, with eight noblemen); the Hsü clan from Tung-hai (established since the Chin, with one nobleman); the Liu clan from P'ei-chün (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with one nobleman); the Liu Clan from P'eng-ch'eng (established since the Liu Sung, with one nobleman); the Liu clan from Tung-kuan (established since the Liu Sung, with one nobleman); the Shen clan from Wu-hsing (established since the Chin, with one nobleman); the Ts'ui clan from Ch'ing-ho (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with one nobleman); and the Wang clan from Lang-ya (established since the Chin, with four noblemen).

The Southern Ch'i noble clans who were also old office-holding clans were a rather diverse group. Three of these old office-holding clans (25% of old clans, but only 7% of all noble clans) had originated during the Three Kingdoms period. Each of these three clans produced only one nobleman during the Southern Ch'i (just under 4.5% of the total). Four of the old clans (33% of old clans, but only 9% of all noble clans) had originated during the Chin period, and they comprised nine noblemen of the Liu Sung period (just under 13.5% of the total). The largest number of "old" office-holding clans had emerged during the immediately preceding Liu Sung dynasty, namely five clans (over 41.5% of old clans, but just over 11.5% of all noble clans), comprising thirteen noblemen in all (just under 19.5% of the total). Yet, 63% of all Southern Ch'i noblemen belonged to clans that were previously not established as office-holding clans.

Very few clans held a large number of noble titles during the Southern Ch'i. In fact, only two clans had five or more noblemen. The clans with the highest number of noble titles are listed below, in descending order, according to the number of titles they held:

Hsiao (Nan-lan-ling)	8	Liu (P'ing-yüan)	5	Wang (Lang-ya)	4
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⁵⁰ Unfortunately, there is no space here to list all title-holders. For the full list, including full titles and fiefs, the corresponding Noble Ranks, and the rank of the highest office held by each nobleman, see Miscevic, *Oligarchy or Social Mobility*, Ph.D. thesis, Chapter 4.

The Hsiao emerged as an office holding clan during the preceding Liu Sung dynasty, at which time three of their members also held noble titles. The Lius were new on the social scene at this time. The Wangs were a well-known office-holding clan, twenty-nine of whose members held noble titles during the Chin, and twenty-four during the Liu Sung dynasty.

Only one clan held noble titles during the Three Kingdoms, the Chin, the Liu Sung, and the Southern Ch'i — the Liu clan from P'ei-kuo (with two noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period, one during Chin, five under the Liu Sung, and one again during the Southern Ch'i). The Ch'u clan from Ho-nan and the Wang clan from Lang-ya had held noble titles during the two dynasties preceding the Southern Ch'i, namely the Chin and the Liu Sung. Six other clans held noble titles during the Liu Sung and the Southern Ch'i: the Chang clan from Wu-chün, the Chi-ang clan from Chi-yang, the Hsiao clan from Nan-lan-ling, the Hsü clan from Tung-hai, the Liu clan from P'eng-ch'eng (with twenty-four noblemen during the Liu Sung, and only one during the Southern Ch'i); and the Shen clan from Wu-hsing.

In only two cases did a Southern Ch'i clan hold the same noble title with the same fief as it did during the previous period. Hsü Hsiao-ssu from Tung-hai inherited the title of District Marquis of Chih-chiang under the Liu Sung, and this title was acknowledged and raised to Duke of Chih-chiang during the Southern Ch'i.⁵¹ Liu Hsiu from P'ei-kuo/chün inherited the title of Marquis of Nan-hsiang, which he held under both the Liu Sung and the Southern Ch'i.⁵²

In most cases, clans that held noble titles under the Liu Sung and the Southern Ch'i received titles of the same rank. The Ch'us from Ho-nan, however, had three noblemen with Rank 1 (due to an inherited title) under the Southern Ch'i, while the highest noble title a member of the clan achieved under the Liu Sung was only 3. The Hsiao from Lan-ling held noble titles with Rank 1 and 3 under the Southern Ch'i, while under the Liu Sung they only held a title with Rank 3 (inherited by two individuals, for a total of three noblemen). On the other hand, the one Shen to hold a noble title under the Southern Ch'i held a title with Rank 3, while under the Liu Sung the titles of the Shens ranged from Rank 1 to 5.

The following table shows the breakdown of Southern Ch'i noble titles in terms of their rank. Only the highest title held by each individual is recorded.

Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4	Rank 5	Rank 6	Total
15	0	50	2	0	0	67

The noblemen of the Southern Ch'i period held titles with relatively high rank: almost 98% of them were of Noble Rank 3 or above; although only 22% were of Noble Rank 2 or above, and 22% of Noble Rank 1. An average Southern Ch'i nobleman held a title with a middle-level rank. The percentage of Southern Ch'i noblemen who belonged to the already established elite of office-holders was almost identical to the percentages for the Chin and the Liu Sung periods.

⁵¹ SS 71/1843; NCS 44/772.

⁵² Only his biography in NCS 34/612 mentions it.

Liang

I have compiled a list of all the people who are recorded to have held noble titles under the Liang.⁵³ There were one hundred and twenty-seven such individuals recorded in the sources. The number of noble title-holding clans recorded for the Liang dynasty was fifty-six.

Sixty-three of these individuals (almost 50%) belonged to already established office-holding clans of the time. There were eighteen such clans in all (32% of all noble clans). These were: the Chang clan from Wu-chün (established since the Liu Sung, with one nobleman); the Cheng clan from Hsing-yang (established since the Later Han, with two noblemen); the Chiang clan from Chi-yang (established since the Liu Sung, with two noblemen); the Chou clan from Ju-nan (established since the Southern Ch'i, with one nobleman); the Fu clan from Pei-ti (established since the Later Han, with one nobleman); the Hsia-hou clan from Ch'iao-kuo (established since the Later Han, with five noblemen); the Hsiao clan from Nan-lan-ling (established since the Liu Sung, with nine noblemen); the Liu clan from Ho-tung (established since the Southern Ch'i, with seven noblemen); the Liu clan from Nan-yang (established since the Chin, with two noblemen); the Lu Clan from Wu-chün (established since the Later Han, with one nobleman); the P'ei clan from Ho-tung (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with five noblemen); the Shen clan from Wu-hsing (established since the Chin, with four noblemen); the Tsung clan from Nan-yang (established since the Liu Sung, with one nobleman); the Tu clan from Ching-chao (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with four noblemen); the Wang clan from Lang-ya (established since the Chin, with nine noblemen); the Wang clan from P'ei-kuo (established since the Liu Sung, with two noblemen); the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan (established since the Later Han, with four noblemen); and the Yang clan from T'ai-shan (established since the Later Han, with three noblemen). Many of these clans, however, although well-established at some point, were no longer mentioned in the sources until this time.⁵⁴

The Liang noble clans who were also old office-holding clans were a rather diverse group. Six of these old office-holding clans (33% of old clans, but less than 11% of all noble clans) had originated during the Later Han. Two of the old office-holding clans (11% of old clans, but only 3.5% of all noble clans) had originated during the Three Kingdoms period. Three of the old clans (less than 17% of old clans, but just over 5% of all noble clans) had originated during the Chin period. Five of the old office-holding clans (almost 28% of old clans, but just under 9% of all noble clans) had emerged during the Liu Sung dynasty. Finally, two of the old office-holding clans (11% of old clans, but only 3.5% of all noble clans) had originated during the immediately preceding Southern Ch'i dynasty. During the South-

⁵³ Unfortunately, there is no space here to list all title-holders. For the full list, including full titles and fiefs, the corresponding Noble Ranks, and the rank of the highest office held by each nobleman, see Miscevic, *Oligarchy or Social Mobility*, Ph.D. thesis, Chapter 4.

⁵⁴ For the periods during which a genealogy based on continuous prominence in historical sources can be drawn for each clan, see the table at the end of Chapter 2.

ern Ch'i, approximately 50% of noblemen belonged to clans that were previously not established as office-holding clans. This number is much lower than at any time in the early medieval history.

Few clans held a large number of noble titles under the Liang. The clans with the highest number of noble titles are listed below, in descending order, according to the number of titles they held:

Hsiao (Nan-lan-ling)	9	Hsia-hou (Ch'iao-kuo)	5	Tu (Ching-chao)	4
Wang (Lang-ya)	9	P'ei (Ho-tung)	5	Wang (T'ai-yüan)	4
Liu (Ho-tung)	7	Chang (Fan-yang)	4		
Yüan (Tai-chün)	6	Shen (Wu-hsing)	4		

None of these clans were new on the social and political scene.

Only one clan held noble titles during the entire period stretching from the Three Kingdoms to the Liang — the Wang clan from Lang-ya.⁵⁵ In addition, the Chang clan from Wu-chün, the Chiang clan from Chi-yang, the Hsiao clan from Nan-lan-ling, and the Shen clan from Wu-hsing all held noble titles under the Liu Sung, the Southern Ch'i and the Liang. The Liu clan from Ho-tung and the Wang clan from P'ei-kuo held noble titles only under the Liang, and the immediately preceding Southern Ch'i dynasty.

Only in one case did a Liang clan hold the same noble title with the same fief as it did during the previous period. Wang Ch'ien from Lang-ya inherited his father Chien's title as District Duke of Nan-ch'ang with an income from 2000 households. The title was lowered to District Marquis of Nan-ch'ang by the Liang, and the income reduced to 1000 households. Ch'ien's son Kuei, and then his son Pao, inherited it under the Liang.⁵⁶ Other clans received different noble titles, with the same rank.

The following table shows the breakdown of the Liang noble titles in terms of their rank. Only the highest title held by each individual is recorded.

Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4	Rank 5	Rank 6	Total
27	1	92	0	7	0	127

The noblemen of the Liang period held titles with relatively high rank: almost 95% of all titles were of Noble Rank 3 or above; although only 22% were of Noble Rank 2 or above, and 21% of Noble Rank 1. As during the earlier Southern Dynasties, most of the noblemen held titles of the middle level, and the ratio of various Liang noble ranks is strikingly similar to the ratio of Southern Ch'i ranks. The percentage of Liang noblemen who belonged to the already established elite of office-holders, however, was considerably higher than the percentage for any earlier dynasty.

⁵⁵ Three younger brothers of the imperial Consort née Wang from Lang-ya in the Kingdom of Wu received titles of Adjunct Marquises. None of their names are given, and their connection with later Lang-ya Wangs cannot be established. SKC 50/1199.

⁵⁶ NCS 23/438; LS 7/158.

CH'EN

The Ch'en rulers introduced several new titles: Commandery Prince (*chün-wang*),⁵⁷ Prince Presumptive (*ssu-wang*),⁵⁸ and Regional Prince (*fan-wang*).⁵⁹ The three Princely titles were followed by: Dynasty-founding Commandery Duke (*k'ai-kuo chün-kung*), Dynasty-founding District Duke (*k'ai-kuo hsien-kung*), Dynasty-founding District Marquis (*k'ai-kuo hsien-hou*), Dynasty-founding District Earl (*k'ai-kuo hsien-po*), Dynasty-founding District Viscount (*k'ai-kuo hsien-tzu*), Dynasty-founding District Baron (*k'ai-kuo hsien-nan*), Food-receiving Marquis (*mu-shih hou*), Township Marquis (*hsiang-hou*), Neighborhood Marquis (*t'ing-hou*), and Dynasty-founding Marquis Within the Passes (*k'ai-kuo kuan-chung hou*),⁶⁰ and Dynasty-founding Marquis Beyond the Passes (*k'ai-kuo kuan-wai hou*),⁶¹ bringing the total number of endowed titles to 12.

All Commandery Princes received Rank 1, along with the Prince of Pa-ling and Prince of Ju-ying, who were especially singled out by the sources.⁶² Princes Presumptive, Regional Princes, Dynasty-founding Commandery Dukes, and Dynasty-founding District Dukes received Rank 2. Dynasty-founding District Marquises received Rank 3, followed by Dynasty-founding District Earls in Rank 4, Dynasty-founding District Viscounts in Rank 5, Dynasty-founding District Barons in Rank 6,⁶³ Food-receiving Marquises in Rank 7, Township Marquises and Neighborhood Marquises in Rank 8, and Dynasty-founding Marquises Within the Passes and Beyond the Passes in Rank 9.

The following table shows all noble titles granted under the Ch'en and their respective ranks:

Noble Title	In Chinese	Rank
Prince of Pa-ling	<i>Pa-ling wang</i>	1
Prince of Ju-yin	<i>Ju-yin wang</i>	1
Marquis of Ju-yin	<i>Ju-yin hou</i>	1
Commandery Prince	<i>chün-wang</i>	1
Prince Presumptive	<i>ssu-wang</i>	2
Regional Prince	<i>fan-wang</i>	2
Dynasty-founding Commandery Duke	<i>k'ai-kuo chün kung</i>	2
Dynasty-founding District Duke	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien kung</i>	2
Dynasty-founding District Marquis	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien hou</i>	3

⁵⁷ This title was usually granted to sons of Imperial Princes by their principal wives, except for the eldest son. Hucker, *A Dictionary*, p. 203, entry #1800.

⁵⁸ The title granted the eldest son of an Imperial Prince by his principle wife, other sons being granted the title of Commandery Prince. Ibid., p. 458, entry #5806.

⁵⁹ A title conferred on sons of Imperial Princes other than the heirs. Ibid., p. 208, entry #1888. Distinction from Commandery Prince not clear.

⁶⁰ The term "*kuan-chung*" refers to the same geographic area as "*kuan-nei*."

⁶¹ "Beyond the Passes" contrasts "Within the Passes" as an "empty title," but the reference is not specific.

⁶² *T'ung-tien*, Ch.38, p. 22a.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 23a omits the character for Baron (*nan*).

Heirs of all holders of the above titles	<i>ssu-wang, teng shih-tzu</i>	4
Dynasty-founding District Earl	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien po</i>	4
Dynasty-founding District Viscount	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien tzu</i>	5
Dynasty-founding District Baron	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien nan</i>	6
Food-receiving Marquis	<i>mu-shih hou</i>	7
Township Marquis	<i>hsiang-hou</i>	8
Neighborhood Marquis	<i>t'ing-hou</i>	8
Dynasty-founding Marquis Within the Passes	<i>k'ai-kuo kuan-chung hou</i>	9
Dynasty-founding Marquis Beyond the Passes	<i>k'ai-kuo kuan-wai hou</i>	9

I have compiled a list of all the people who are recorded to have held noble titles under the Ch'en.⁶⁴ There were eighty-seven such individuals recorded in the sources. The number of noble title-holding clans recorded for the Ch'en dynasty was forty-three.

Thirty-one of these individuals (just over 35.5%) belonged to already established office-holding clans of the time. There were fourteen such clans in all (32.5% of all noble clans). The clans were: the Chou clan from I-hsing (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with three noblemen); the Chou clan from Ju-nan (established since the Southern Ch'i, with two noblemen); the Hsiao clan from Nan-lan-ling (established since the Liu Sung, with one nobleman); the Hsü clan from Tung-hai (established since the Chin, with two noblemen); the Lu clan from Wu-chün (established since the Later Han, with three noblemen); the Mao clan from Hsing-yang (established since the Chin, with two noblemen); the P'ei clan from Ho-tung (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with two noblemen); the Shen clan from Wu-hsing (established since the Chin, with eight noblemen); the Ssu-ma clan (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with two noblemen); the Tao clan from P'eng-ch'eng (established since the Southern Ch'i, with one nobleman); the Ts'ai clan from Chi-yang (established since the Liu Sung, with two noblemen); the Wei clan from Ching-chao (established since the Liang, with one nobleman); the Yü clan from Ying-ch'uan (established since the Later Han, with one nobleman); and the Yüan clan from Ch'en-chün (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with only one nobleman).

The Ch'en noble clans who were at the same time the old office-holding clans were a rather diverse group. Two of these old office-holding clans (14.3% of old clans, but only 4.5% of all noble clans) had originated during the Later Han. Four of these old office-holding clans (28.5% of old clans, but only 9% of all noble clans) had originated during the Three Kingdoms period. Three of the old clans (21.5% of old clans, but only 7% of all noble clans) had originated during the Chin period. Two noble clans who were old office-holding clans had emerged during the Liu

⁶⁴ Unfortunately, there is no space here to list all title-holders. For the full list, including full titles and fiefs, the corresponding Noble Ranks, and the rank of the highest office held by each nobleman, see Miscevic, *Oligarchy or Social Mobility*, Ph.D. thesis, Chapter 4.

Sung, and two during the Southern Ch'i, while only one Ch'en noble clan (7% of old clans, but only 2.3% of all noble clans) originated during the immediately preceding Liang dynasty. More than 64% of all Ch'en noblemen belonged to clans that were previously not established as office-holding clans.

Very few clans held a large number of noble titles under the Ch'en. In fact, only one clan had more than three noblemen. That was the Shen clan from Wu-hsing, an old Chin clan, which held at least one noble title under each of the Southern Dynasties beginning with the Liu Sung (eleven under the Liu Sung, one under the Southern Ch'i, four under the Liang), and which had eight noblemen during Ch'en dynasty.

In addition to the Shens, one other clan held at least one noble title under each of the Southern Dynasties beginning with the Liu Sung — the Hsiao from Nan-lan-ling (with three titles under the Liu Sung, eight under the Southern Ch'i, and nine under the Liang), who emerged as an office holding clan during the Liu Sung dynasty, and who had only one nobleman under the Ch'en.

Four clans, besides the Shens and the Hsiao, held noble titles during both the preceding Liang dynasty and the Ch'en. Those were: the Chou clan from Ju-nan (with one title under the Liang, and two titles under the Ch'en); the Lu clan from Wu-chün (with one title under the Liang, and three titles under the Ch'en); the P'ei clan from Ho-tung (with five titles under the Liang, and two titles under the Ch'en); and the Wei clan from Chin-chao (with three titles under the Liang, and one title under the Ch'en).

Among these six clans, only some of the Shens held the same noble title with the same fief during both the Liang and the Ch'en. Shen Chiung was District Marquis of Yüan-hsiang under both dynasties; Shen K'o was District Marquis of Tung-hsing under both dynasties, but his fief was increased from 500 to 1000 households by the Ch'en; Shen Yüeh and Shen Shih were District Marquises of Chien-ch'ang under the Liang, both with 1000 households, while Shen Fa-shen, Shen Ch'in, and Shen Kuan received the same title from the Ch'en, with a fief of 500 households. The other clans held noble titles of the roughly same rank under the two dynasties.

The following table shows the breakdown of all Ch'en noble titles in terms of their rank. Only the highest title held by each individual is recorded.

Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4	Rank 5	Ranks 6, 7, 8, 9	Total
0	16	34	34	3	0	87

On average, the noblemen of the Ch'en period held titles with much lower rank than their predecessors in earlier Southern Dynasties: 57.5% of all noblemen held Noble Rank 3 or above, but only 18% held Noble Rank 2 or above. Not a single title with Noble Rank 1 was granted by the Ch'en rulers. The percentage of Ch'en noblemen who belonged to the already established elite of office-holders was almost identical to the percentages for the Liu Sung and the Southern Ch'i periods, but lower than that for the immediately preceding Liang dynasty.

T'O-PA WEI

In the north, the T'o-pa Wei dynasty, which had ruled according to the traditional tribal system of Overseers for the first decade after establishing control of northern China, started to create central and local bureaucracies and grades of nobility in A.D. 396, when it introduced five noble grades. In A.D. 398, the new Emperor ordered the codification of the bureaucracy and the establishment of noble titles and ranks.⁶⁵ The process went on for years, with frequent changes that increasingly drew the traditional T'o-pa elite into the Chinese-style bureaucratic fold.

In A.D. 404, the number of noble titles was reduced from five to four. The title of Prince was granted to the sons of the Emperor and to his early followers of outstanding merit. The rank of other Imperial relatives and former Regional Princes was lowered to Duke. The rank of existing Dukes was lowered to Marquis. Below the Marquis, there was a further title of Viscount.

Princes were enfeoffed in large commanderies and received Rank 1, Dukes were enfeoffed in small commanderies and received Rank 2; Marquises held large districts with Rank 3, and Viscounts had small districts with Rank 4. Below the four noble titles which carried fiefs, the T'o-pas instituted five grades of Prestige Titles (*san-kuan*) and awarded them Ranks 5-9.⁶⁶

In A.D. 488, Emperor Kao-tsu awarded noble titles to old clans.⁶⁷

Over the years, the number of people who held noble titles, prestige titles, and honorary titles multiplied, forcing the rulers to abolish hereditary nobility in A.D. 492 and to institute a system of military designations granted in perpetuity to all sons and grandsons of nobles, and holders of honorary offices.

In A.D. 499, Emperor Kao-tsu reordered the office and title ranking system once again, and the new system was put into practice by his successor, Emperor Shih-tsung, as the permanent T'o-pa code. The new code instituted the following noble titles: Prince and Dynasty-founding Commandery Duke, both of Rank 1a; Dynasty-founding District Duke and Honorary Duke (*san-kung*),⁶⁸ both of Rank 1b; Dynasty-founding District Marquis, with Rank 2a; Honorary Marquis (*san-hou*),⁶⁹ with Rank 2b; Dynasty-founding District Earl, with Rank 3a; Honorary Earl (*san-po*),⁷⁰ with Rank 3b; Dynasty-founding District Viscount, with Rank 4a; Honorary Viscount (*san-tzu*),⁷¹ with Rank 4b; Dynasty-founding District Baron, with Rank 5a; and Honorary Baron (*san-nan*),⁷² with Rank 5b. There were twelve noble titles in all.⁷³

⁶⁵ *Wei shu*, ch. 113, p. 2972.

⁶⁶ Such titles had no relation to functional activity, but were awarded to fix rank status. The Prestige Titles gave status to officials who were not serving on active duty, and may have been the basis on which official salaries were paid. See Hucker, *A Dictionary*, pp. 398-399, entry #4868. The *Wei shu* makes no mention of salaries. *Wei shu*, ch. 113, p. 2973.

⁶⁷ This is mentioned in the biography of Li Feng from Chung-shan. WS 83A/1825.

⁶⁸ Term "*san*," meaning "detached" or "inactive," was used as a prefix to official and noble titles for honorific purposes, without influencing the holder's income or duties. Hucker, *A Dictionary*, p. 395, entry #4831.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *T'ung-tien* erroneously says that there were eleven titles, by omitting that of Dynasty-founding District Duke. *T'ung-tien*, ch. 19, p. 9a.

The following table shows the twelve noble titles of the permanent T'o-pa code instituted in A.D. 499, and their corresponding ranks.

Noble Title	In Chinese	Rank
Prince	<i>wang</i>	1a
Dynasty-founding Commandery Duke	<i>k'ai-kuo chün kung</i>	1a
Dynasty-founding District Duke	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien kung</i>	1b
Honorary Duke	<i>san-kung</i>	1b
Dynasty-founding District Marquis	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien hou</i>	2a
Honorary Marquis	<i>san-hou</i>	2b
Dynasty-founding District Earl	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien po</i>	3a
Honorary Earl	<i>san-po</i>	3b
Dynasty-founding District Viscount	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien tzu</i>	4a
Honorary Viscount	<i>san-tzu</i>	4b
Dynasty-founding District Baron	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien nan</i>	5a
Honorary Baron	<i>san-nan</i>	5b

It should be noted that the titles in T'o-pa Wei were often inheritable from older to younger brother.⁷⁴

I have compiled a list of all the people who are recorded to have held noble titles under the T'o-pa Wei.⁷⁵ There were one thousand and forty-three such individuals recorded in the sources. The number of noble title-holding clans recorded for the T'o-pa Wei dynasty was two hundred and one.

One hundred and seventy-seven of these individuals (just under 17%) belonged to already established office-holding clans of the time. There were seventeen such clans in all (just under 8.5% of all noble clans). The clans were: the Cheng clan from Hsing-yang (established since the Later Han, with fifteen noblemen); the Chia clan from Wu-wei (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with four noblemen); the Hsia-hou clan from Ch'iao-kuo (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with two noblemen); the Kuo clan from T'ai-yüan (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with three noblemen); the Lu clan from Fan-yang (established since the Later Han, with one nobleman); the Mao clan from Hsing-yang (established since the Chin, with five noblemen); the P'ei clan from Ho-tung (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with twenty-two noblemen); the Ssu-ma clan (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with twenty-eight noblemen); the Tiao clan from Po-hai (established since the Chin, with three noblemen); the Ts'ui clan from Ch'ing-ho (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with

⁷⁴ The biography of Wei Yüan from T'ai-yüan in WS 50/1109 has many examples.

⁷⁵ Unfortunately, there is no space here to list all title-holders. For the full list, including full titles and fiefs, the corresponding Noble Ranks, and the rank of the highest office held by each nobleman, see Miscevic, *Oligarchy or Social Mobility*, Ph.D. thesis, Chapter 4.

thirty-one noblemen); the Ts'ui clan from Po-ling (established since the Later Han, with thirteen noblemen); the Tu clan from Ching-chao (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with four noblemen); the Wang clan from Lang-ya (established since the Chin, with three noblemen); the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan (established since the Later Han, with twenty-one noblemen); the Yang clan from Hung-nung (established since the Later Han, with fifteen noblemen);⁷⁶ the Yang clan from T'ai-shan (established since the Later Han, with four noblemen); and the Yüan clan from Ch'en-chün (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with two noblemen).

The seventeen T'o-pa Wei noble clans who were also old office-holding clans were a rather diverse group. Six of these old office-holding clans (35% of old clans, but only 3% of all T'o-pa Wei noble clans) had originated during the Later Han. Eight of these old office-holding clans (47% of old clans, but only 4% of all T'o-pa Wei noble clans) had originated during the Three Kingdoms period. Three of the old clans (17.5% of old clans, but only 1.5% of all T'o-pa Wei noble clans) had originated during the Chin period.

All in all, only 8.45% of the noble clans of the T'o-pa Wei period were members of the old Chinese bureaucratic elite, but the percentage is higher if we count the individuals, in which case 17% of the T'o-pa nobility belonged to the old elite. Obviously, some of the old bureaucratic clans managed to hold a high number of noble titles.⁷⁷

But these old clans were not the only clans to hold a high number of noble titles under the T'o-pa Wei. The clans with the highest number of noblemen are listed below, in descending order, according to the number of titles they held:

Kao (Po-hai)	39	Yüan (Ho-nan/Tai-chün)	16
Mu (Tai-chün)	35	Cheng (Hsing-yang)	15
Li (Chao-chün)	33	Hsi (Tai-chün)	15
Ts'ui (Ch'ing-ho) ⁷⁸	31	Yang (Hung-nung)	15
Wei (Tai-chün)	31	Chang (Shang-ku)	13
Ch'ang-sun (Tai-chün)	30	Pi (Tung-p'ing)	13
Ssu-ma (Ho-nei)	28	Ts'ui (Po-ling)	13
Hsüeh (Ho-tung)	22	Ho (Tai-chün)	12
P'ei (Ho-tung)	22	Feng (Ch'ang-lo)	11
Wang (T'ai-yüan)	21	Feng (Po-hai)	11
Lu (Tai-chün)	18	Kung-sun (Yen-chün)	10
Yü (Tai-chün)	18	Li (Chung-shan)	10
Erh-chu (Pei-hsiu)	16		

⁷⁶ The T'o-pa Wei Hung-nung Yangs claimed to be from Hung-nung. See Note #181, Chapter 3, above.

⁷⁷ For the ratio for all early medieval dynasties look at the comprehensive table at the end of this chapter.

⁷⁸ This number does not include the six noblemen of the Tung-ch'ing-ho Ts'uis who were, although apparently a branch of the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis, not directly related.

In fact, of the twenty-five noble T'o-pa Wei clans with ten or more noblemen per clan, only seven (the Hsing-yang Ch'engs, the Ho-tung P'eis, the Ho-nei Ssumas, the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis, the Po-ling Ts'uis, the T'ai-yüan Wangs, and the Hung-nung Yangs⁷⁹) belonged to the already established bureaucratic elite.

There were five clans that held noble titles from the beginning of the period under our study into the T'o-pa Wei. These clans were: the Chia clan from Wu-wei (with four noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period, one title during Chin, and four under the T'o-pa Wei); the Kuo clan from T'ai-yüan (with three noblemen during each of the three periods); the Lu clan from Fan-yang/Cho (with two noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period and the Chin, and only one under the T'o-pa Wei); the P'ei clan from Ho-tung (with two noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period, nine during the Chin, and twenty-two during the T'o-pa Wei); and the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan (with five noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period, nineteen during the Chin, and twenty-one during the T'o-pa Wei).

In addition, eight other clans held noble titles during both the immediately preceding Chin dynasty and the T'o-pa Wei. These were: the Chang clan from An-ting (with eleven noblemen under the Chin, and three under the T'o-pa Wei); the Cheng clan from Hsing-yang (with six noblemen under the Chin, and fifteen under the T'o-pa Wei); the Mao clan from Hsing-yang (with nine noblemen under the Chin, and five under the T'o-pa Wei); the Tsu clan from Fan-yang (with one nobleman under the Chin, and four noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei); the Wang clan from Lang-ya (with twenty-nine noblemen under the Chin, and three under the T'o-pa Wei); the Yang clan from Hung-nung (with two noblemen under the Chin, and fifteen under the T'o-pa Wei); the Yang clan from T'ai-shan (with six noblemen under the Chin, and four under the T'o-pa Wei); and the Yüan clan from Ch'en-chün (with six noblemen under the Chin, and two under the T'o-pa Wei).

Among all the T'o-pa Wei noble clans that held titles prior to the establishment of the T'o-pa Wei, only the Yang clan from T'ai-shan held titles with the same fief under both the Chin and the T'o-pa Wei. Yang Hu's original Chin title of District Marquis of Chü-p'ing (Noble Rank 3), was inherited by two other members of the clan during the Chin dynasty. Under the T'o-pa Wei, one Yang Kueichih received the title of Viscount of Chü-p'ing (Noble Rank 4), which was inherited by one clan member. Other clans, on average, held titles with similar Noble Rank under both dynasties. In the case of the Fan-yang Tsus, the Noble Rank was quite different, since the one Tsu to hold a noble title under the Chin had Rank 1, while the highest rank any of the four clan members with noble titles under the T'o-pa Wei held was 2. The Lang-ya Wangs held twenty-nine noble titles of all ranks but Rank 2 under the Chin, while all three Lang-ya Wangs to hold noble titles under the T'o-pa Wei had Rank 2. None of the two Hung-nung Yangs with noble titles under the Chin received Rank 1, while six of the clan members held that rank under the T'o-pa Wei.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ See Note #181 in Chapter 3.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

The following table shows the breakdown of all T'o-pa Wei noble titles in terms of their rank. Only the highest title held by each individual is recorded.

Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4	Rank 5	Rank 6 ⁸¹	Total
499	228	81	143	90	2	1043

The noblemen of the T'o-pa Wei period on average held titles with higher rank than their counterparts in the South. Fully 77% of all noblemen held titles with Noble Rank 3 or above, and almost 70% of all noblemen held titles with Noble Rank 2 or above. Most importantly, almost 48% of all T'o-pa Wei noblemen held titles with Noble Rank 1.

The percentage of the T'o-pa Wei noblemen who belonged to the already established elite of office-holders was much lower than the percentages for the immediately preceding Chin, or for any of the Southern Dynasties (8.5% of clans and 17% of individuals), but very similar to the percentages for the Three Kingdoms period. The T'o-pa Wei nobles may have been young, as a social group, but their rank was extremely high.

EASTERN WEI / NORTHERN CH'I

As we have stated in the previous section, the T'o-pa Wei (i.e. the Northern Wei) titles were continued under the Eastern Wei. With the establishment of the Northern Ch'i dynasty many of them were merely reduced, not abolished. This is a unique situation in Chinese early medieval history: generally, titles were inheritable for the duration of any one dynasty, but were abolished by the succeeding dynasty when it established its own court.⁸²

The Northern Ch'i basically adopted the titles that were in use under the T'o-pa Wei, but it increased their number to thirteen.⁸³ The Northern Ch'i introduced the title of Dynasty-founding Eminent Baron (*k'ai-kuo ch'ing-nan*) which carried Rank 5b — the same rank as the title of Honorary District Baron. It is not clear what distinguished an Eminent Baron from other types of Barons. The title probably carried an income, like that of Dynasty-founding District Baron, but was ranked lower, on the level of the Honorary District Baron, i.e. 5b. It was therefore the lowest title to carry an income.⁸⁴

The ranks of top titles were slightly reduced. The title of Prince still carried Rank 1a; the rank of Dynasty-founding Commandery Duke was reduced to 1b, that

⁸¹ Titles with Rank 6, i.e. in both recorded cases the title of Marquis Within the Passes, existed in the early days of the T'o-pa Wei rule, prior to the codification of official ranks and noble titles which took place in A.D. 398. I assume that it was ranked according to the Chin system, which would give it Rank 6.

⁸² We have noted, for each dynasty separately, all the instances where one clan received the same title with the same fief under two successive dynasties.

⁸³ *T'ung-tien* erroneously says in Chapter 19, p. 9a that there were only six titles, while it lists thirteen in Chapter 38, pp. 26a-28b.

⁸⁴ All the Honorary (*san-*) titles merely carried the prestige of a noble rank, but no income.

of Dynasty-founding District Duke to 2a, Honorary District Duke and Dynasty-founding District Marquis were both reduced to Rank 2b, and Honorary District Marquis was now ranked 3a. Below this title, all ranks remained unchanged: Dynasty-founding District Earl had Rank 3a, Honorary District Earl received Rank 3b, Dynasty-founding District Viscount Rank 4a, Honorary District Viscount Rank 4b, Dynasty-founding District Baron Rank 5a, and Honorary District Baron Rank 5b.

The following table shows all thirteen noble titles that were in use during the Northern Ch'i with their corresponding ranks.

Noble Title	In Chinese	Rank
Prince	<i>wang</i>	1a
Dynasty-founding Commandery Duke	<i>k'ai-kuo chün kung</i>	1b
Dynasty-founding District Duke	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien kung</i>	2a
Honorary District Duke	<i>san hsien-kung</i>	2b
Dynasty-founding District Marquis	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien-hou</i>	2b
Honorary District Marquis	<i>san hsien-hou</i>	3a
Dynasty-founding District Earl	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien-po</i>	3a
Honorary District Earl	<i>san hsien-po</i>	3b
Dynasty-founding District Viscount	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien-tzu</i>	4a
Honorary District Viscount	<i>san hsien-tzu</i>	4b
Dynasty-founding District Baron	<i>k'ai-kuo hsien-nan</i>	5a
Dynasty-founding Eminent Baron	<i>k'ai-kuo ch'ing-nan</i>	5b
Honorary District Baron	<i>san hsien-nan</i>	5b

I have compiled a list of all the people who are recorded to have held noble titles under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i.⁸⁵ There were one hundred and eighty-eight such individuals recorded in the sources. The number of noble title-holding clans recorded for the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i dynasty was ninety-two.

Sixty-two of these individuals (almost 33%) belonged to already established office-holding clans of the time. There were nineteen such clans in all (20.5% of all noble clans). The clans were: the Ch'ih-lieh clan from Tai-chün (established since the T'o-pa Wei, with three noblemen); the Erh-chu clan from Pei-hsiu (established since the T'o-pa Wei, with two noblemen); the Feng clan from Po-hai (established since the T'o-pa Wei, with six noblemen); the Ho-pa clan from Shen-wu (established since the T'o-pa Wei, with one nobleman); the Hsiao clan from Lan-ling (established since the T'o-pa Wei in the North and also parallelly in the South, with four noblemen); the Hsü clan from Kao-yang (established since the T'o-pa Wei in the North and also parallelly in the South, with one nobleman); the Hsüeh clan from Ho-tung (established since the T'o-pa Wei in the North and also par-

⁸⁵ Unfortunately, there is no space here to list all title-holders. For the full list, including full titles and fiefs, the corresponding Noble Ranks, and the rank of the highest office held by each nobleman, see Miscevic, *Oligarchy or Social Mobility*, Ph.D. thesis, Chapter 4.

allely in the South, with three noblemen); the Li clan from Chao-chün (established since the T'o-pa Wei in the North and also parallelly in the South, with eight noblemen); the Lou clan from Tai-chün (established since the T'o-pa Wei, with six noblemen); the Lu clan from Fan-yang (established since the Later Han, with five noblemen); the P'ei clan from Ho-tung (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with one nobleman); the Ssu-ma clan from Ho-nei (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with two noblemen); the Tsu clan from Fan-yang (established since the T'o-pa Wei, with one nobleman); the Ts'ui clan from Ch'ing-ho (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with three noblemen); the Ts'ui clan from Po-ling (established since the Later Han, with one nobleman); the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan (established since the Later Han, with one nobleman); the Yang clan from Hung-nung (established since the Later Han, with one nobleman); the Yao clan from Shan-tang (established since the Later Han, with four noblemen); and the Yüan clan from Tai-chün/Ho-nan (established since the T'o-pa Wei, with nine noblemen)⁸⁶.

The nineteen Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i noble clans who were also old office-holding clans were a diverse group, although almost two-thirds of them originated as prominent office-holding clans only under the immediately preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty. More specifically, the breakdown of their origins as the national elite was as follows: four (21% of old clans, but just slightly over 4% of all Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i noble clans) had originated during the Later Han; three (under 16% of old clans, but only 3% of all Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i noble clans) had originated during the Three Kingdoms period; twelve (63% of old clans, but only slightly less than 12% of all Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i noble clans) had originated during the T'o-pa Wei period. One should note that not a single Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i noble clan emerged on the national scene as an office holding clan during Chin dynasty.

All in all, only 20.5% of the noble clans of the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i period were members of the old bureaucratic elite; or, if we count individuals, 33% of the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i noblemen belonged to the old elite. These numbers were much higher than in the T'o-pa Wei period, although not as high as during any of the Southern Dynasties.

Perhaps not surprisingly, because of the short duration of the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i dynasty, no clan managed to hold as many noble titles as under the T'o-pa Wei. The clans with the highest number of noblemen during the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i are listed below, in descending order, according to the number of titles they held:

Kao (Po-hai)	10	Tuan (Ku-tsang)	7	Lou (Tai-chün)	6
Li (Chao-chün)	9	Chang (Tai-chün)	6	Hu-lü (Shuo-chou)	5
Yüan (Tai-chün/Ho-nan)	9	Feng (Po-hai)	6	Lu (Fan-yang)	5

⁸⁶ The Ho-nan Yüans were descendants of the T'o-pa Wei imperial clan. They were originally from Tai-chün.

Five of the nine noble Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i clans with five or more noblemen per clan (the Po-hai Fengs, the Chao-chün Lis, the Tai-chün Lous, the Fan-yang Lus, and the Tai-chün/Ho-nan Yüans) belonged to the already established bureaucratic elite.

Only three clans held noble titles from the beginning of the period under our study into the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i, namely for the entire duration of the early medieval period in the North. These clans were: the Lu clan from Fan-yang/Cho (with two noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period, two under the Chin, only one under the T'o-pa Wei, and five during the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the P'ei clan from Ho-tung (with two noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period, nine during the Chin, twenty-two during the T'o-pa Wei, and one during the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); and the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan (with five noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period, nineteen during the Chin, twenty-one during the T'o-pa Wei, and one during the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i).

In addition, two clans held noble titles during three dynasties, starting with the Chin, and ending with the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i. The two clans were: the Tsu clan from Fan-yang (with one nobleman under the Chin, four noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and one during the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); and the Yang clan from Hung-nung (with two noblemen under the Chin, fifteen under the T'o-pa Wei, and one during the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i).

Several clans held noble titles under the immediately preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty and the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i. These were: the Chang clan from Hsi-ho (with three noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and one under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Chang clan from Shang-ku (with thirteen noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and one under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Ch'ih-lieh clan from Tai-chün (with one nobleman under the T'o-pa Wei, and three under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Erh-chu clan from Pei-hsiu (with sixteen noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and two under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Fan clan from Tai-chün (with one nobleman under the T'o-pa Wei, and one under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Feng clan from Po-hai (with eleven noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and six under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Han clan from Ch'ang-li (with seven noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and one under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Ho-pa clan from Shen-wu (with five noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and one under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Hou-mo-ch'en clan from Tai-chün (with one nobleman under the T'o-pa Wei, and three under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Hsiao clan from Nan-lan-ling (with four noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and four under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Hsü clan from Kao-yang (with seven noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and one under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Hsü clan from Tan-yang (with three noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and two under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Hsüeh clan from Ho-tung (with twenty-two noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and three under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Hu clan from An-ting (with nine noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and one under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Kao clan from Po-hai (with thirty-nine noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei,

and twelve under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Li clan from Chao-chün (with thirty-three noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and eight under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Lou clan from Tai-chün (with eight noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and six under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Pao clan from Wei-chün (with one nobleman under the T'o-pa Wei, and one under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Ssu-ma clan from Ho-nei (with twenty-eight noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and two under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Sun clan from Hsien-yang (with one nobleman under the T'o-pa Wei, and two under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Ts'ui clan from Ch'ing-ho (with thirty-one nobleman under the T'o-pa Wei,⁸⁷ and three under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Ts'ui clan from Po-ling (with thirteen noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and one under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Wei clan from Chü-lu (with one nobleman under the T'o-pa Wei, and three under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Wei clan from Tai-chün (with thirty-one noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and two under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Yao clan from Shang-tang (with six noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and four under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); and the Yüan clan from Ho-nan/Tai-chün (with sixteen noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and nine under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i).⁸⁸

Many more clans held noble titles under the two Northern Dynasties of T'o-pa Wei and Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i than had been the case under any other two successive dynasties of the early medieval period. In many cases noblemen with the same surnames appear in the same location under these two dynasties, but direct family ties are neither claimed, nor can they be established. On the other hand, many of the T'o-pa Wei noblemen continue to hold their titles during the Eastern Wei, and even during the Northern Ch'i, although often lowered in rank by one grade.

The noble clans who held the same titles and fiefs under the T'o-pa Wei and the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i were: the Ch'ih-lieh clan from Tai-chün, with the title of Dynasty-founding District Marquis of Ying-t'ao carried over and augmented by an additional title of Viscount of Lin-t'ao; the Erh-chu clan from Pei-hsiu, with two titles — of Prince of Liang, and Prince of Ch'ang-lo — carried over by their primary holders; the Feng clan from Po-hai, with two titles — Commandery Duke of An-teh, and Viscount of Fu-ch'eng — carried over; the Ho-pa clan from Shen-wu, with the title of Prince of Yen carried over by Ho-pa Yün; the Hou-mo-ch'en clan from Tai-chün, with the title of Commandery Duke of Po-shui carried over; the Kao clan from Po-hai, with three titles — Commandery Duke of Ch'ang-lo, Commandery Duke of Ching-chao, and District Marquis of Lo-ch'eng carried over; the Ts'ui clan from Ch'ing-ho, with the title of District Duke of Wu-ch'eng carried over; the Wei clan from Chü-lu, with the title of District Viscount of Fu-p'ing carried over; and the Yao clan from Shang-tang, with two titles — District Duke of Lo-ch'ang, and District Duke of Ch'eng-p'ing — carried over.

⁸⁷ This number does not include the six Ts'ui noblemen from Tung-ch'ing-ho, who apparently belonged to a branch of the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis, but who were not directly related.

⁸⁸ The Yüans were a branch of the T'o-pa Wei imperial clan.

Certain other clans, too many to be mentioned, held titles with similar Noble Rank under both the T'o-pa Wei and the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i. The following table shows the breakdown of all Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i noble titles in terms of their rank. Only the highest title held by each individual is recorded.

Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4	Rank 5	Rank ?	Total
104	19	33	16	14	2	188

The noblemen of the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i period on average held titles with higher rank than their counterparts in the South, and even higher than the noblemen of the immediately preceding T'o-pa Wei period. Almost 83% of all noblemen held titles with Noble Rank 3 or above at this time. Almost 65.5% of all noblemen held titles with Noble Rank 2 or above, which is a slightly lower proportion than in the T'o-pa Wei period. But most importantly, over half, or more specifically over 55% of all Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i noblemen held titles with Noble Rank 1, which was a higher proportion than under any other early medieval dynasty.

The percentage of Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i noblemen who belonged to the already established elite of office-holders was considerably higher than the comparable percentage for T'o-pa Wei noblemen, but it was still lower than the percentages for the Chin, and all the Southern Dynasties.

WESTERN WEI / NORTHERN CHOU

The Western Wei at first kept the T'o-pa Wei titles, and many individuals who received them during the T'o-pa rule retained them, often with promotions, during the Western Wei/Northern Chou dynasty. Some titles were lowered with the establishment of the Northern Chou system of ranking.

The Northern Chou reverted to the old Warring States Chou scale for nobility, by granting only five titles.⁸⁹ All bureaucratic posts and noble titles were classified into nine grades called *ming*, in keeping with the old Chou ranking system for aristocracy.⁹⁰ The *ming* grades were divided into Inner Grades (*nei-ming*) awarded to state officials, and Outer Grades (*wai-ming*) used to classify nobles and their employees. In both groups, Grade 9 was the highest. The noble titles of Duke (Grade 9a, the equivalent of Rank 1a), Marquis (Grade 8a, the equivalent of Rank 2a), Earl (Grade 7a, the equivalent of Rank 3a), Viscount (Grade 6a, the equivalent of Rank 4a) and Baron (Grade 5a, the equivalent of Rank 5a) occupied the top echelon of the scale of Outer Grades, while the staff of their fiefs received the lower grades.⁹¹

⁸⁹ *T'ung-tien* actually lists six noble titles in Chapter 39, pp. 28b-29a, by including Prince, although it says that there were only five titles in Chapter 19, p. 9a.

⁹⁰ The Chou dynasty (1122-255 B.C.) divided the aristocracy, including the Feudal Lords (*chu-hou*), into nine grades of Honor (*chiu-ming*), with the 9th honor the highest. See Hucker, *A Dictionary*, p. 333, entry #4004.

⁹¹ *Sui shu*, ch. 27, p. 771.

The Chou ranking system prescribed that all commandery and district noble titles of the five ranks should automatically be awarded the prefix "Dynasty-founding" (*k'ai-kuo*).⁹² Throughout the *Chou shu* this prefix was never used, but was presumably understood.⁹³ Since everybody received the same distinction, I will not add it to the titles either.

Finally, the Chou introduced the new title Duke of State (*kuo-kung*). This title was usually awarded for extraordinary merit to people who had already received the title of Commandery Duke after several promotions. It generally carried a fief of 10,000 households, while District and Commandery Dukes had incomes ranging from 1,000 to 4,000 households. It was obviously an extremely powerful title.

The following table shows the eight noble titles that were in use during the Western Wei/Northern Chou, with their corresponding grades translated into ranks.

Noble Title	In Chinese	Grade	Rank Equivalent
Prince	<i>wang</i>	9a	1a
Duke of State	<i>kuo-kung</i>	9a	1a
Commandery Duke	<i>chiün-kung</i>	9b	1b
District Duke	<i>hsien-kung</i>	9b	1b
District Marquis	<i>hsien-hou</i>	8a	2a
District Earl	<i>hsien-po</i>	7a	3a
District Viscount	<i>hsien-tzu</i>	6a	4a
District Baron	<i>hsien-nan</i>	5a	5a

The Western Wei/Northern Chou preserved the high status of the T'o-pa ruling clan, the Yüans from Ho-nan, by granting many of its members the status of Princes. This was a deliberate policy, and many Yüan clan members are listed at the end of Chapter thirty-eight of the *Chou shu* as mere recipients of the highest offices and noble ranks.⁹⁴ The titles of Princes were reduced to Dukes with the establishment of the Chou system of ranking, but in many cases the fiefs of the recipients were actually increased.

I have compiled a list of all the people who are recorded to have held noble titles under the Western Wei/Northern Chou.⁹⁵ There were four hundred and fifteen such individuals recorded in the sources. The number of noble title-holding clans recorded for the Western Wei/Northern Chou dynasty was one hundred and twenty-one.

⁹² CHO 24/407 elaborates on the Chou system of adding honors to regular titles, both noble and official.

⁹³ I.e. somebody is simply called Commandery Duke, not Dynasty-founding Commandery Duke, although this distinction was automatically due him.

⁹⁴ The biography of one clan member, Yüan Wei, lists thirteen of them. CHO 38/688.

⁹⁵ Unfortunately, there is no space here to list all title-holders. For the full list, including full titles and fiefs, the corresponding Noble Ranks, and the rank of the highest office held by each nobleman, see Miscevic, *Oligarchy or Social Mobility*, Ph.D. thesis, Chapter 4.

One hundred and forty-nine of these individuals (just under 36%) belonged to already established office-holding clans of the time. There were thirty such clans in all (25% of all noble clans). The clans were: the Ch'ang-sun clan from Ho-nan (established since the T'o-pa Wei, with three noblemen); the Cheng clan from Hsing-yang (established since the Later Han, with seven noblemen); the Ho-pa clan from Shen-wu (established since the T'o-pa Wei, with three noblemen); the Hsiao clan from Lan-ling (established since the T'o-pa Wei in the North and concurrently in the South, with ten noblemen); the Hsü clan from Tung-hai (established since the Chin, with one nobleman); the Hsüeh clan from Ho-tung (established since the T'o-pa Wei in the North and concurrently in the South, with eight noblemen); the Huang-fu clan from An-ting (established since the Later Han, with one nobleman); the K'ou clan from Shang-ku (established since the T'o-pa Wei, with six noblemen); the Kuo clan from T'ai-yüan (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with one nobleman); the Li clan from I-ch'uan (established since the T'o-pa Wei, with two noblemen); the Li clan from Liao-tung (established since the T'o-pa Wei, with eleven noblemen); the Li clan from Lung-hsi (established since the T'o-pa Wei, with eleven noblemen); the Li clan from Tun-ch'iu (established since the T'o-pa Wei, with two noblemen); the Liu clan from Ho-tung (established since the T'o-pa Wei in the North and concurrently in the South, with eleven noblemen); the Liu clan from P'ei-kuo (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with two noblemen); the Lu clan from Fan-yang (established since the Later Han, with four noblemen); the Lu clan from Tai-chün (established since the T'o-pa Wei, with three noblemen); the Lu clan from Wu-chün (established since the Later Han, with three noblemen); the P'ei clan from Ho-tung (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with eight nobleman); the Shen clan from Wei-chün (established since the T'o-pa Wei, with three noblemen); the Ssu-ma clan from Ho-nei (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with four noblemen); the Ta-hsi clan from Ho-nan (established since the T'o-pa Wei, with two noblemen); the Ts'ai clan from Ch'en-liu (established since the Later Han, with four noblemen); the Ts'ai clan from Chi-yang (established in the South, with one nobleman); the Ts'ui clan from Ch'ing-ho (established since the Three Kingdoms period, with one nobleman); the Ts'ui clan from Po-ling (established since the Later Han, with five noblemen); the Wang clan from Lang-ya (established since the Chin, with two noblemen); the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan (established since the Later Han, with nine noblemen); the Wei clan from Ching-chao (established since the T'o-pa Wei, with five noblemen); and the Yang clan from Hung-nung (established since the Later Han, with sixteen noblemen) ⁹⁶.

The thirty Western Wei/Northern Chou noble clans who were also old office-holding clans were a diverse group, although most of them originated as prominent office-holding clans during the immediately preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty. More specifically, the breakdown of their origins as the national elite was as follows: eight

⁹⁶ As has been noted earlier, the T'o-pa Wei Hung-nung Yangs only claimed to be from Hung-nung.

(26.6% of old clans, but only 6.6% of all Western Wei/Northern Chou noble clans) had originated during the Later Han; five (16.6% of old clans, but just over 4% of all Western Wei/Northern Chou noble clans) had originated during the Three Kingdoms period; two (6.6% of old clans, but only 1.6% of all Western Wei/Northern Chou noble clans) had originated during the Chin; fourteen (46.6% of old clans, but only 11.5% of all Western Wei/Northern Chou noble clans) had originated during the T'o-pa Wei period; one (3.3% of old clans, but only 0.8% of all Western Wei/Northern Chou noble clans) had originated in the South.

All in all, 25% of the noble clans of the Western Wei/Northern Chou period were members of the old bureaucratic elite; or, if we count the individuals, 36% of Western Wei/Northern Chou noblemen belonged to the old elite. These figures were higher than for any other Northern Dynasty, and almost as high as the lowest comparable figures for the Southern Dynasties.

A larger number of Western Wei/Northern Chou noble clans held a higher number of noble titles than their counterparts under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i dynasty, although not as many as under the T'o-pa Wei. The clans with the highest number of noblemen during the Western Wei/Northern Chou are listed below, in descending order, according to the number of titles they held:

Yang (Hung-nung)	16	P'ei (Ho-tung)	8
Yüan (Tai-chün/Ho-nan)	16	Wei-ch'ih (Tai-chün)	8
Yü (Ho-nan)	14	Cheng (Hsing-yang)	7
Yü-wen (Tai-chün)	14	Liang (An-ting)	7
Li (Liao-tung)	11	Tou (Fu-feng)	7
Li (Lung-hsi)	11	Tu-ku (Yün-chung)	7
Liu (Ho-tung)	11	Wang (Lo-lang)	7
Hsiao (Lan-ling)	10	K'ou (Shang-ku)	6
Wang (T'ai-yüan)	9	Su (Wu-kung)	6
Ho-lan (?)	8	Tou-lu (Ch'ang-li)	6
Hsüeh (Ho-tung)	8		

Only ten of the twenty-one Western Wei/Northern Chou noble clans with six or more noblemen per clan (the Hsing-yang Chengs, the Lan-ling Hsiao, the Ho-tung Hsüehs, the Shang-ku K'ous, the Liao-tung Lis, the Lung-hsi Lis, the Ho-tung Lius, the Ho-tung P'eis, the T'ai-yüan Wangs, and the Hung-nung Yangs⁹⁷) belonged to the already established office-holding elite.

Only four clans held noble titles from the beginning of the period under our study into the Western Wei/Northern Chou, namely for the entire duration of the early medieval period in the North. These clans were: the Kuo clan from T'ai-yüan (with three noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period, the Chin, and the T'o-pa Wei, and with only one nobleman during the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Lu clan from Fan-yang/Cho (with two noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period

⁹⁷ Ibid.

and the Chin, only one under the T'o-pa Wei, and four during the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the P'ei clan from Ho-tung (with two noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period, nine during the Chin, twenty-two during the T'o-pa Wei, and eight during the Western Wei/Northern Chou); and the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan (with five noblemen during the Three Kingdoms period, nineteen during the Chin, twenty-one during the T'o-pa Wei, and nine during the Western Wei/Northern Chou). It should be noted that the last three of these four clans also held noble titles under the contemporaneous Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i dynasty.

In addition, three clans held noble titles during three dynasties, starting with the Chin, and ending with the Western Wei/Northern Chou. These were: the Cheng clan from Hsing-yang (with six noblemen under the Chin, fifteen noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and seven during the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Wang clan from Lang-ya (with twenty-nine noblemen under the Chin, three noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and two during the Western Wei/Northern Chou); and the Yang clan from Hung-nung (with two noblemen under the Chin, fifteen under the T'o-pa Wei, and sixteen during the Western Wei/Northern Chou) ⁹⁸.

Several clans held noble titles under the immediately preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty and the Western Wei/Northern Chou. These were: the Ch'ang-sun clan from Tai-chün (with thirty noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and thirty under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Ch'üan clan from Shang-lo (with three noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and five under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Han clan from Nan-yang (with two noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and three under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Han clan from Ying-ch'uan (with one nobleman under the T'o-pa Wei, and two noblemen under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Ho-lien clan from Sheng-lo (with one nobleman under the T'o-pa Wei, and two noblemen under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Ho-pa clan from Shen-wu (with five noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and three under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Hou-mo-ch'en clan from Tai-chün (with one nobleman under the T'o-pa Wei, and five under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Hsi clan from An-ting (with three noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and two under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Hsiao clan from Nan-lan-ling (with four noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and ten under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Hsin clan from Lung-hsi (with three noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and three under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Hsüeh clan from Ho-tung (with twenty-two noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and eight under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Kao clan from Po-hai (with thirty-nine noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and only one under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the K'ou clan from Shang-ku (with one nobleman under the T'o-pa Wei, and six under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Li clan from I-ch'uan (with one nobleman under the T'o-pa Wei, and two noblemen under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Li clan from Lung-hsi (with four noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and eleven under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Li clan from Tun-ch'iu (with nine noble-

⁹⁸ Ibid.

men under the T'o-pa Wei, and two under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Liang clan from An-ting (with three noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and seven under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Lu clan from Tai-chün (with eighteen noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and three under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Ssu-ma clan from Ho-nei (with twenty-eight noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and two under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i); the Ta-hsi clan from Ho-nan (with one nobleman under the T'o-pa Wei, and two under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Ts'ui clan from Ch'ing-ho (with thirty-one nobleman under the T'o-pa Wei,⁹⁹ and one under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Ts'ui clan from Po-ling (with thirteen noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and five under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Wang clan from Ching-chao (with eight noblemen under the T'o-pa Wei, and five under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Wang clan from Lo-lang (with one nobleman under the T'o-pa Wei, and seven under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Wei clan from Ching-chao (with one nobleman under the T'o-pa Wei, and five under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Yang clan from Cheng-p'ing (with one nobleman under the T'o-pa Wei, and two under the Western Wei/Northern Chou); the Yüan clan from Ho-nan/Tai-chün (with sixteen noblemen under both the T'o-pa Wei and the Western Wei/Northern Chou),¹⁰⁰ and the Yü-wen clan from Tai-chün (with one nobleman under the T'o-pa Wei, and fourteen under the Western Wei/Northern Chou).

As we have seen, the number of clans who held noble titles under the two Northern Dynasties of T'o-pa Wei and Western Wei/Northern Chou, similarly to its counterpart under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i, was considerably higher than the numbers for any two successive Southern Dynasties of the early medieval period. In many cases noblemen with same surnames appear in the same location under these two dynasties, but direct family ties are neither claimed, nor can they be established. In some cases, the T'o-pa titles were carried over into the Western Wei/Northern Chou.

The noble clans who held the same titles and fiefs under the T'o-pa Wei and the Western Wei/Northern Chou were: the Ch'ang-sun clan from Tai-chün, with the title of Duke of Shang-tang carried over; the Ho-pa clan from Shen-wu, with two titles — Commandery Duke of Lang-ya, and Commandery Duke of Ch'ing-shui — carried over; the Li clan from Lung-hsi, with the title of Duke of Tun-huang carried over; the Liang clan from An-ting, with the title of Baron of Ch'ao-na under the T'o-pa Wei and District Earl of Ch'ao-na under the Western Wei/Northern Chou; the Ssu-ma clan from Ho-nei, with the title Duke of Lang-ya carried over; the Wang clan from Ching-chao, with the title of District Duke of Pa-ch'eng carried over; the Yang clan from Hung-nung, with the titles Commandery Duke of Hua-shan and Dynasty-founding District Earl of Ch'eng-ch'eng carried over as such, and the title of District Earl of Lin-chen carried over as District Duke of Lin-chen,

⁹⁹ This number does not include the six Ts'ui noblemen from Tung-ch'ing-ho, who apparently belonged to a branch of the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis, but who were not directly related.

¹⁰⁰ The Yüans were a branch of the T'o-pa Wei imperial clan.

and District Earl of Kuan-chün as District Duke of Kuan-chün; the Yüan clan from Ho-nan/Tai-chün with the title of Dynasty-founding Commandery Duke of Feng-i carried over as Prince of Feng-i;¹⁰¹ and the Yü-wen clan from Tai-chün, with the title of District Duke of Ch'ang-kuang carried over as Commandery Duke of Ch'ang-kuang.

Other clans, on average, held titles that were slightly higher in Noble Rank from those granted by the T'o-pa Wei. The following table shows the breakdown of all Western Wei/Northern Chou noble titles in terms of their rank. Only the highest title held by each individual is recorded.

Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4	Rank 5	Total
342	20	23	24	6	415

The noblemen of the Western Wei/Northern Chou period held titles with higher rank than nobleman of any other period in early medieval history. As many as 93% of all noblemen held titles with Noble Rank 3 or above at this time. Almost 87% of all noblemen held titles with Noble Rank 2 or above. Finally, 82% of all Western Wei/Northern Chou noblemen held titles with Noble Rank 1, which was a higher ratio than under any other early medieval dynasty. We should note, however, that these generally high noble ranks correspond to the high official ranks which were the trademark of the Western Wei/Northern Chou period.

The Western Wei/Northern Chou noblemen were ranked higher than their counterparts in the entire early medieval period. They were also more likely to belong to the already established elite of office-holders than their counterparts in other Northern Dynasties, even though their proportion is no higher than 36%. In this respect, the Western Wei/Northern Chou noblemen were closer to their counterparts in the Southern Dynasties.

SUMMARY

Noble titles were, like official titles, used by the court to award deserving individuals for extraordinary service. Since they were inheritable, however, they carried more weight. The award of one noble title could keep a clan in that position for the duration of an entire dynasty.

In most cases, noble titles and their corresponding fiefs were abolished with the advent of a new dynasty. As an exception, the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i court in the North continued to recognize many T'o-pa Wei titles, usually reducing them in rank by one degree. Its contemporaneous Western Wei/Northern Chou court did not adopt the same practice, but its own noble titles were carried on by the ensuing Sui dynasty, which in many cases raised the Northern Chou ranks by one degree.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

In many cases, the Western Wei/Northern Chou noble titles were continued even by the T'ang.¹⁰²

The other early medieval dynasties did not generally carry on the noble titles granted by their predecessors, but we have shown instances where the same title and the same fief remained with the same clan beyond the duration of one dynasty. Such cases were very rare. Much more commonly, a clan received noble titles from various dynasties, but did not enjoy the same fiefs, or necessarily the same noble ranks.

The following table lists all instances where the same clans held noble titles under more than one early medieval dynasty, and shows how many titles they held under each dynasty. Only one title per individual is recorded — the highest in rank for that particular dynasty. Direct family connections among various clan members and various generations cannot necessarily be demonstrated, and in many instances under the Northern Dynasties they were not even suggested by the sources.

Clan	Choronym	Number of Noblemen							
		S. K.	Chin	Sung	S. Ch'i	Liang	Ch'en	Wei	N. Ch'i Chou
CHANG	An-ting	—	11	—	—	—	—	3	—
CHANG	Chi-pei	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
CHANG	Fan-yang/ Cho	2	2	—	—	4	—	—	—
CHANG	Feng-i	3	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
CHANG	Hsi-ho	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1
CHANG	Shang-ku	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	1
CHANG	Wu-chün	—	—	5	2	1	—	—	—
CH'ANG-									
SUN	Tai-chün	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	—
CHAO	Nan-yang	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
CHENG	Hsing-yang	—	6	1	—	2	—	15	—
CHIA	Wu-wei	4	1	—	—	—	—	4	—
CHIANG	Chi-yang	—	—	2	1	2	—	3	—
CHIH-									
LIEH	Tai-chün	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3

¹⁰² Sui and T'ang dynasties are beyond the scope of this study, but it is worth mentioning this fact because of its impact on the Sui and T'ang society. It is well known that the Sui and T'ang ruling elites originated largely with the Western Wei/Northern Chou. There are many examples of this carry-over of noble titles. Let me just mention a few. Su Ch'o's son Wei from Wu-kung inherited Ch'o's title as Earl of Mei-yang, the title was then raised to District Duke, then to Duke of the State of P'ei by the Sui dynasty (CHO 23/395); Tou I's son from Fu-feng inherited I's title Duke of Shen-wu in the first year of Sui dynasty, the title was raised to Duke of the State of Ch'i by T'ang dynasty, and it was posthumously awarded as such to his father I (CHO 30/521-2); Ts'ui Chün-ch'o from Ch'ing-ho inherited his father Yen-mu's Northern Chou title as Commandery Duke of Tung in the first year of the Sui dynasty (CHO 36/641); Wang Ch'ing from T'ai-yüan had his title raised from District Duke to Commandery Duke of P'ing-ch'ang by the Sui court, and his son Yen inherited it (CHO 33/575); Yao Seng-yüan's title was raised to Duke of Pei-chiang by the Sui, and then inherited by his son Tsui from Wu-hsing (CHO 47/843); etc.

Clan	Choronym	Number of Noblemen								
		S. K.	Chin	Sung	S.Ch'i	Liang	Ch'en	Wei	N.Ch'i	Chou
CHOU	I-hsing	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-
CHOU	Ju-nan	-	11	-	-	1	2	-	-	-
CH'U	Ho-nan	-	3	6	3	-	-	-	-	-
CH'ÜAN	Shang-lo	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	5
CH'ÜAN	Wu-chün	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
ERH-										
CHU	Pei-hsiu	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	2	-
FAN	Tai-chün	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
FENG	Po-hai	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	6	-
HAN	Ch'ang-li	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	1	-
HAN	Nan-yang	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3
HAN	Ying-ch'uan	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
HO	Ju-nan	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HO-LIEN	Sheng-lo	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
HO-PA	Shen-wu	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	3
HOU-MO-										
CH'EN	Tai	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	5
HSI	An-ting	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	2
HSIA-										
HOU	P'ei/Ch'iao	18	-	1	-	5	-	2	-	-
HSIAO	(Nan-)									
	Lan-ling	-	-	3	8	9	1	4	4	10
HSIN	Lung-hsi	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3
HSING	Ho-chien	2	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-
HSÜ	Kao-yang	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	1	-
HSÜ	Tan-yang	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	-
HSÜ	Tung-hai	-	-	4	1	-	2	-	-	1
HSÜEH	Ho-tung	-	-	2	-	-	-	22	3	8
HSÜN	Ying-ch'uan	9	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HU	An-ting	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	1	-
HU	Huai-nan/									
	Ch'u	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HUA	P'ing-yüan	3	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KAO	Ch'en-liu	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KAO	Po-hai	-	-	-	-	-	-	39	10	1
K'OU	Shang-ku	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	6
KUO	T'ai-yüan	3	3	-	-	-	-	3	-	1
LI	Chao-chün	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	8	-
LI	I-ch'uan	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2

Clan	Choronym	Number of Noblemen								
		S. K.	Chin	Sung	S. Ch'i	Liang	Ch'en	Wei	N. Ch'i	Chou
LI	Lung-hsi	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	11
LI	Tun-ch'iu	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	2
LIANG	An-ting	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	7
LIU	Ho-tung	-	-	-	1	7	-	-	-	11
LIU	Nan-yang	2	1	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
LIU	P'ei-kuo	2	1	5	1	-	-	-	-	2
LIU	P'eng-ch'eng	-	-	24	1	-	-	-	-	-
LOU	Tai-chün	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	6	-
LU	Fan-yang ¹⁰³	2	2	-	-	-	-	1	5	4
LU	Tai-chün	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	-	3
LU	Wu-chün	7	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	3
MA	Fu-feng	2	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
MAO	Hsing-yang	-	9	1	-	-	2	5	-	-
PAO	Wei-chün	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
P'EI	Ho-tung	2	9	-	-	5	2	22	1	8
SHEN	Wu-hsing	-	-	11	1	4	8	-	-	-
SSU-MA	Ho-nei	3	-	-	-	-	2	28	2	4
SUN	Hsien-yang	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
SUN	T'ai-yüan	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TA-HSI	Ho-nan	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
TAO	P'eng-ch'eng	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-
TS'AI	Ch'en-liu	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
TS'AI	Chi-yang	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	1
TS'AI	Nan-yang	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-
TS'AO	P'ei-kuo/ Ch'iao	23	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TSU	Fan-yang	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	1	-
TS'UI	Ch'ing-ho ¹⁰⁴	3	-	-	1	-	-	31	3	1
TS'UI	Po-ling	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	1	5
TSUNG	Nan-yang	1	1	3	-	1	-	-	-	-
TU	Ching-chao	3	-	2	-	4	-	4	-	-
TUAN	Ku-tsang	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	1
WANG	Ching-chao	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	5
WANG	Lang-ya	3	29	24	4	9	-	3	-	2
WANG	Lo-lang	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	7

¹⁰³ Fan-yang commandery was classified as Cho during the Three Kingdoms period.

¹⁰⁴ There was also a branch of the Ts'uis in Eastern Ch'ing-ho, known during the T'o-pa Wei dynasty as the Tung-ch'ing-ho Ts'uis. They held six noble titles under the T'o-pa Wei.

Clan	Choronym	Number of Noblemen								
		S. K.	Chin	Sung	S. Ch'i	Liang	Ch'en	Wei	N. Ch'i	Chou
WANG	P'ei-kuo	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—
WANG	Tai-chün	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4
WANG	T'ai-yüan	5	19	6	—	4	—	21	1	9
WANG	Tung-hai	5	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WEI	Ching-chao	—	—	—	—	3	1	1	—	5
WEI	Chü-lu	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	—
WEI	Tai-chün	—	—	—	—	—	—	31	2	—
YANG	Cheng-p'ing	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
YANG	Hung-nung	—	2	—	—	—	—	15	1	16
YANG	T'ai-shan	—	6	—	—	3	—	4	—	—
YAO	Shang-tang	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	4	—
YEN	Pa-hsi	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
YÜ	Ying-ch'uan	—	7	2	—	—	1	—	—	—
YÜAN	Ch'en-chün	—	6	4	—	—	1	2	—	—
YÜAN	Ho-nan/ Tai ¹⁰⁵	—	—	—	—	6	—	16	9	16
YÜ-WEN	Tai-chün	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	14

In addition to the noble clan members represented in the above table, two men held noble titles under two consecutive dynasties: Sun Yang from Wu-chün, who held titles under both Liang and Ch'en;¹⁰⁶ and Yang Chien from Ch'in-chün, who held titles under the T'o-pa Wei and Western Wei/Northern Chou.¹⁰⁷

It is clear from the above table that very few clans managed to retain their noble status over several dynasties. Although it is the Southern elite that is usually referred to in analytical historical writing as "aristocracy," our table shows that only in the North did certain clans retain noble status for the entire duration of the early medieval period: the Cheng clan from Hsing-yang (beginning with the Chin); the P'ei clan from Ho-tung (beginning with the Three Kingdoms period); the Wang clan from Lang-ya (beginning with the Three Kingdoms period); and the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan (beginning with the Three Kingdoms period). The most enduring noble clans in the South were: the Hsiao clan from Lan-ling (beginning with the Liu Sung);¹⁰⁸ the Shens from Wu-hsing (beginning with the Liu Sung); and the Wangs from Lang-ya (who first attained noble status under the rulers of the King-

¹⁰⁵ The Ho-nan Yüans listed in the T'o-pa Wei column were a branch of the T'o-pa Wei imperial clan. The ones in the Northern Ch'i and Northern Chou columns were descendants of the T'o-pa Wei imperial clan. They were originally from Tai-chün.

¹⁰⁶ Both titles are mentioned in his biography in CHS 25/319.

¹⁰⁷ Both titles are mentioned in his biography in CHO 33/570.

¹⁰⁸ The Hsiao retained noble status in the North as well, beginning with the T'o-pa period.

dom of Wu during the Three Kingdoms period, but failed to retain it under the last Southern Dynasty, the Ch'en).¹⁰⁹

From this table of early medieval noble titles, just as from the tables of local Arbiters and office-holders with Rank 1, the Lang-ya Wang clan emerges as a powerful clan in a class of its own. But the Lang-ya Wangs cannot be taken as typical representatives of Chinese early medieval society — they stand alone.

If we compare the list of clans who held noble titles under more than one early medieval dynasty to the lists of office-holding clans from Chapter 3, we will find some clans in all the lists, but, more importantly, we will find many clan names that we have not encountered before. This is because most of the early medieval noble clans did not belong to the old office-holding elite. The following table shows the proportion of noblemen and noble clans that belonged to the old, established office-holding clans to all noblemen and noble clans, dynasty by dynasty:

Dynasty	All noblemen (number)	From established clans (#)	From established clans (%)	Noble clans (number)	Established clans (#)	Established clans (%)
San-kuo	481	53	11%	184	15	8 %
Chin	436	170	39%	118	33	28 %
Liu Sung	237	84	36%	79	21	27 %
S. Ch'i	67	25	37%	43	12	28 %
Liang	127	63	50%	56	18	32 %
Ch'en	87	31	36%	43	14	32.5%
N. Wei	1043	177	17%	201	17	8.5%
N. Ch'i	188	62	33%	92	19	20.5%
N. Chou	415	149	36%	121	30	25 %

The table shows some difference in the backgrounds of noblemen in the South and in the North. A smaller proportion of noblemen in the North belonged to established office-holding clans, particularly under the T'o-pa Wei and the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i dynasties. The Western Wei/Northern Chou figures approach those for the Southern Dynasties. One should note that the proportion is invariably higher when one counts individual noblemen, indicating that the old, established office-holding clans on average held more noble titles per clan than their less established contemporaries. Nevertheless, the table clearly shows that the early medieval nobility was not an entrenched elite that ruled China, dynasty after dynasty. Rather, the award of noble titles facilitated the upward mobility of individuals who did not belong to the established office-holding elite.

¹⁰⁹ It should be remembered that the sources do not connect later Lang-ya Wangs with the San-kuo Wu Empress and her brothers, the noble title-holders.

V. Imperial Distaff Relatives

Official rank and noble titles were good measures of social status of any individual during the early medieval period in China, but there were even finer nuances that determined just who was "superior" and who "inferior," and who possibly an equal. Sometimes it is hard to pin-point all the factors that worked to determine a clan's social status and prestige, but marriage was certainly one of them. An expression in common use in the medieval period was *hun-huan*, which literally means "marriage and office," and it was shorthand for two of the main factors in establishing an individual's social standing.¹ Some historians even treat these two as the only measures of status in the society of the time. Ch'en Yin-k'o, for instance, writes in *T'ang-tai cheng-chih shih shu-lun kao*: "The society of the Northern and Southern Dynasties determined the status of people on the basis of the two principles of marriage and office."²

I have already indicated that I also consider noble titles to be extremely important. The Emperor could award them freely and reward or punish those whom he wished by effectively giving or removing status. For the title-holders, the titles were the only inheritable element of the social status which they strove to preserve. At the same time, I regard marriages as a coveted confirmation of status. Only a clan accepted as a partner in a marriage contract could be considered a social equal.³

We know that the court actively monitored marriages among upper class clans. In the late fifth century, Han Hsien-tsung sent a memorial to the Northern T'o-pa Wei throne, asking Emperor Hsiao Wen to continue the residential segregation of upper and lower classes in the new capital at Lo-yang. The memorial reminds: "Whenever the court selects its *shih* they are compared marriage by marriage and office by office to determine their relative rank."⁴ Segregation of living quarters would presumably minimize daily contact between the class of those already designated as privileged, and those who were striving to improve their social standing through marriage. Yet we know of cases when such contacts were made. Everyone sought to marry well: wealthy commoners tried to raise the status of their family by marrying upper-class girls; *shih* families considered it a disaster if a son or a daughter had to marry beneath their station.⁵

¹ See Johnson, *The medieval Chinese Oligarchy*, p. 25.

² Ch'en Yin-k'o, *T'ang-tai cheng-chih shih shu-lun kao*, p. 56. Quoted by Johnson, *Op. cit.*, note #19, p. 43.

³ There were, of course, cases when status was bought through marriage to an impoverished old clan, or when a "superior" clan agreed to a marriage with an "inferior" clan for one of its members with a disability. Mather distinguishes five categories of marriage liaisons based on his exhaustive study of the *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*. See Richard B. Mather, "Intermarriage as a Gauge of Family Status in the Southern Dynasties," *State and Society in Early Medieval China*, Albert E. Dien, ed., Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990, pp. 211-228.

⁴ This is Johnson's translation in Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 26. He attributes the memorial to Han Hsing-tsung, and says it was quoted by Chin Fa-ken in *Yung-chia luan hou pei-fang ti hao-tsu*, p. 171. The memorial was actually written by Hsing-tsung's younger brother Hsien-tsung, a more prolific memorial writer. WS 60/1341.

⁵ Johnson provides several examples. *Op. cit.*, pp.25-40. Also see Mather, *op. cit.*, 221-226.

Contemporaries were acutely aware of differences in status brought about through marriage. The *Wei shu* cites the case of Kung-sun Sui and Kung-sun Jui who were first cousins, yet on occasions when their clan assembled, there was as much difference in their status as between that of a *shih* and a commoner.⁶ This was directly due to the difference in their mothers' social standing: Sui's mother was née Li, from Yen-men — the daughter of a local clan with position and influence on the district level; Jui's mother was née Feng, from Po-hai — the daughter of a powerful early medieval clan established in the national bureaucratic elite during the T'o-pa Wei dynasty.⁷ The Fengs initially refused to marry their daughter to the Kung-suns, although they were friends, but Jui's father finally managed to acquire a Feng bride, perhaps because he had been ennobled as the Commandery Duke of Yen. This was a sign that the Kung-suns had arrived. So much so, in fact, that Jui married the daughter of Ts'ui Hao from Ch'ing-ho — a member of one of the most powerful early medieval clans.⁸

David Johnson holds that nothing in the biographies of the two cousins, Kung-sun Jui and Kung-sun Sui, reveals "this supposed difference in status."⁹ I must disagree. First, Jui's father was a Commandery Duke, and Jui himself received the title of Duke of Yang-p'ing.¹⁰ Sui's father received the title of Marquis of Kuang-yang only posthumously, while Sui's own title of Marquis of Fan-yang was lowered to Earl. As I have shown in Chapter 4, this alone would have been a considerable difference. Both cousins did indeed belong to a "noble clan," but we must remember that individual noble titles were used by the court to award status to individuals with special merit, and a difference between Noble Rank 1 and Noble Rank 3 would be equivalent to the difference between the official rank of a Chancellor and an Imperial Secretary — not to mention the disparity in income.

In addition, marriage alliances created quite a hierarchy within the Kung-sun clan, and the case of these two cousins illustrates very clearly how marriage was used for social climbing. The Kung-suns used their friendship with the Fengs to propel themselves into the circle of the national elite, but although ten of their clan members held noble titles during the T'o-pa Wei dynasty, they did not achieve the highest positions in the state bureaucracy (like the Fengs), nor did their relative prominence survive the T'o-pa dynasty (as did that of the Fengs). The story of these two cousins, in fact, reveals the position of the three clans on the social scale very clearly: at the bottom are the Yen-men Lis, a locally prominent clan; in the middle the Yen-chün Kung-sun clan, with one foot on the same step of the social ladder as the Lis, the other reaching up towards the position of the Po-hai Fengs; at the top the Fengs.

⁶ The Governor of Chü-lu, Tsu Chi-chen, is quoted as saying so in Kung-sun Sui's biography in WS 33/786.

⁷ Jui's grandfather Piao's biography in WS 33/782 refers to the Po-hai Fengs as an "old clan" on page 783, but they in fact came into national prominence only at this time. However, since they at first refused marriage with the Kung-suns, they must have established themselves earlier and on a higher level.

⁸ See biographies of Jui and Sui in WS 33/785-6.

⁹ Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27. Footnote # 24 quotes *Wei shu*, 33/14a/10-14b/1, and Yang Yün-ju, *Chiu-p'in chung-chen yü liu-ch'ao men-fa*, p. 123. Johnson notes that nothing in their biographies reveals "this supposed difference in status," although he does observe that one was a Duke, the other a Marquis.

¹⁰ His elder brother inherited the father's title. WS 33/785.

This kind of social climbing reached all the way up to the imperial family. Intermarriage with the imperial family was a definite sign of a clan's power and prestige at a given time. We will limit our study to clans that provided Empresses throughout the early medieval period. Imperial concubines and Empresses Dowager who were included in the chapters entitled *Biographies of Empresses (hou-chuan)* in the dynastic histories will be discarded, because they received their titles only after they gave birth to a future emperor. A study of all marriages mentioned in the dynastic histories would give us a good picture of the social climate of the time, but marriages are not listed systematically in dynastic biographies — as ancestors, heirs, and sons were — and therefore our findings would not be comprehensive.¹¹

Let us then turn our attention to the clans who provided the Empresses and Imperial Consorts, dynasty by dynasty.

THE THREE KINGDOMS

The *San-kuo chih* is slightly different in composition from other dynastic histories. It is not divided into standard sections, and comprises in fact of three histories — one for each of the Three Kingdoms — each of which consist only of annals and biographies.¹² In each of the three histories, the annals of Emperors, or in some cases "Rulers" (*chu* or *chu-ch'üan*) as they were called during the Three Kingdoms period, are followed by a chapter of biographies of their wives. These chapters were called *Empresses and Imperial Consorts (Hou-fei)* in the *Wei shu* section, *Consorts and Sons of the Two Rulers (Erh-chu fei tzu)* in the *Shu shu* section, and *Wives and Concubines (Fei-pin)* in the *Wu shu* section.

The Kingdom of Wei

The rulers of the Wei Kingdom were the Ts'aos from P'ei-kuo, Ch'iao. There were six rulers in all: the founder, Emperor Wu (or Emperor T'ai-tsu, the fabled Ts'ao Ts'ao); his son P'i, Emperor Wen; Emperor Wen's son Jui, Emperor Ming; Emperor Ming's adoptive son Fang, the Prince of Ch'i; Emperor Wen's grandson Mao, the Township Duke of Kao-kuei; and Emperor Wu's grandson Huan, the Prince of Ch'en-liu.

As noted in the Introduction, Ts'ao Ts'ao held political power without assuming an imperial title during his lifetime. He was only posthumously treated as emperor. Chapter 5 of the *San-kuo chih* ("Empresses and Imperial Consorts") contains biographies of eight ladies, including Ts'ao Ts'ao's wife née Pien, who was posthumously honored as The Hsüan Empress,¹³ and Emperor Wen's concubine née Chen, who gave birth to Emperor Ming and was posthumously honored as The

¹¹ The *Shih-shuo hsün-yü* is a good source for gauging the social climate of the time, although it deals only partially with the period under our discussion. See Mather, *Op. cit.*, pp. 211-228.

¹² I refer to the three states of the "Three Kingdoms" period as "kingdoms," in keeping with the English language accepted standard. Calling them the Wei State, Shu State, and Wu State would be more accurate. They thought of themselves as empires, and of their rulers as emperors.

¹³ She was from Lang-ya. Her personal name is not given. SKC 5/156.

Chao Empress.¹⁴ Neither will be considered an Empress in this study, which discards all titles awarded in recognition of imperial birth.

Below is a list of the remaining six ladies, the principal wives of Wei rulers. In addition to their surnames and personal names where known, the list shows their choronyms, titles, and spouses.

Name	Choronym	Title	Spouse
née Kuo ¹⁵	An-p'ing	The Teh Empress	Emperor Wen
née Mao ¹⁶	Ho-nei	The Tao Empress	Emperor Ming
née Kuo ¹⁷	Hsi-p'ing	The Yüan Empress	Emperor Ming
née Chen ¹⁸	Chung-shan	Empress	Prince of Ch'i
née Pien ¹⁹	Lang-ya	Empress	Township Duke of Kao-kuei
née Pien ²⁰	Lang-ya	Empress	Prince of Ch'en-liu

The wives of the last two rulers were women of the Pien clan from Lang-ya.²¹ The Piens were the only clan to produce more than one Empress at this time. Nothing is mentioned about the Pien clan in Chapter 5 of the *San-kuo chih*. The first of the three ladies née Pien was of course the wife of Ts'ao Ts'ao. Many of her relatives, including her father, grandfather, grandmother, and younger brother received honorary titles based on her position. But her marriage to Ts'ao Ts'ao seems to have been a stroke of good luck, not a result of her family's prestige and maneuvering. The other two Pien women were her niece and grandniece. They married her own great-grandson, and her husband's grandson. Since the first emperor, Wen, was her son, and the second emperor, Ming, her adoptive grandson, the first Lady Pien to marry into the ruling family marked the entire short-lived dynasty with her influence. But who were the Piens from Lang-ya? They were not known during the Later Han, and they did not retain their status beyond the San-kuo Wei. They held no high offices, and the only noble titles they received at this time (four in all), came as the result of their marital connection with the ruling house. Other clans provided only one Empress each.

The Chen clan from Chung-shan, as stated in the biography of Emperor Wen's concubine who was posthumously honored as The Chao Empress, was descended from the Han Grand Guardian Chen Han, and had for generations produced officials ranked "two thousand bushels."²² The only ancestor with a known official title,

¹⁴ She was from Chung-shan. No personal name is given. SKC 5/159.

¹⁵ No personal name is given. SKC 5/164.

¹⁶ No personal name is given. SKC 5/167.

¹⁷ No personal name is given. SKC 5/168.

¹⁸ No personal name is given. Her grandfather Yen was the elder brother of Emperor Wen's Chao Empress. SKC 5/163.

¹⁹ No personal name is given. Her father Lung was the grandson of the Hsüan Empress' younger brother Ping. SKC 5/158.

²⁰ No personal name is given. Her Father Lin was the younger son of the Hsüan Empress' younger brother Ping. SKC 5/158.

²¹ The wife of Ts'ao Ts'ao belonged to the same clan.

²² SKC 5/159.

however, is the Empress's father I, who was Magistrate of Shang-ts'ai. The Chen clan does not appear in my study as an old, well-established bureaucratic clan, since its ancestry can be demonstrated for only one previous generation. The Chens' status, like that of the Piens, did not survive beyond the Three Kingdoms period. But during the San-kuo Wei, they seem to have held more power than the Piens. One of their clan members held a military office with Rank 1, and nine held noble titles. The selection of an Empress from this clan, The Chao Empress's grandniece, was merely frosting on the cake.

The other three San-kuo Wei Empresses with biographies in Chapter 5 of the *San-kuo chih* came from clans that were not known before or after the Three Kingdoms period. Four members of only one of the clans, the An-p'ing Kuos, held noble titles under the San-kuo Wei. Marriage with the imperial family apparently did not propel either of these clans into the national elite.

In addition to the six Empresses with biographies in Chapter 5, the Imperial Annals (*pen-chi*) mention the installment of two Empresses, one née Chang and one née Wang, both Empresses of the Prince of Ch'i after the death of his first Empress née Chen.²³ Imperial Annals never state choronyms of people they mention, and since neither the two Empresses nor their relatives have biographies elsewhere, we must assume that they came from obscure backgrounds.

Not a single Empress from the Kingdom of Wei during the Three Kingdoms period came from an established bureaucratic clan. We do not need a chart to illustrate this, but for the purpose of consistency with later sections in this chapter where such charts are useful, I give below a chart that illustrates the origins of the clans of all the Empresses of the Kingdom of Wei:

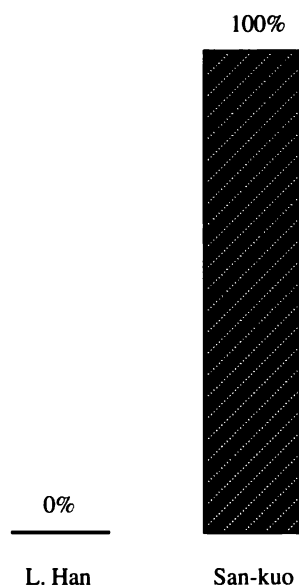


Chart 1a: Origins of clans of the San-kuo Wei Empresses

²³ SKC 4/125 and SKC 4/128.

The Kingdom of Shu

The rulers of the Shu Kingdom were the Lius from the Cho district, in the Cho commandery. They were descended from the Han Emperor Ching's son Sheng, Prince of Chung-shan. There were two rulers in all: the founder, Liu Pei, known as the First Ruler (*hsien-chu*); and his son Ch'an, known as the Last Ruler (*hou-chu*).

Four ladies received biographies in Chapter 34 of the *San-kuo chih*, that is in Chapter 4 of the *Shu shu* itself. One of them, née Kan, received the title of Empress posthumously, because she had given birth to The Last Ruler of Shu.²⁴ She will not be counted as Empress in this study. The remaining three ladies, principal wives of Shu rulers, are listed below. In addition to their surnames and personal names where known, the list shows their choronyms, titles, and spouses.

Name	Choronym	Title	Spouse
née Wu ²⁵	Ch'en-liu	The Mu Empress	The First Ruler
née Chang ²⁶	Cho/Fan-yang	The Ching-ai Empress	The Last Ruler
née Chang ²⁷	Cho/Fan-yang	Empress	The Last Ruler

None of the three San-kuo Shu Empresses belonged to old, established bureaucratic clans, nor to clans who played a role after this time. The father of the two Empresses née Chang from Cho commandery was the famous General of Chariots and Cavalry, Chang Fei. Their clan, therefore, was one of the most influential clans of the Kingdom of Shu. But only two clan members held noble titles: Chang Fei, and his son Shao who inherited his title as the Township Marquis of Hsi — not a particularly distinguished title. Their official titles were ranked only 2 and 3 respectively. The Chang girls were married into the imperial family because of their father's fame and standing. This standing crumbled with the passing of Chang Fei and the Kingdom of Shu.

The only other clan to have produced an Empresses at this time, the Ch'en-liu Wus, held one noble title, given to the Empress's brother I.

Not a single Empress from the Kingdom of Shu during the Three Kingdoms period came from an old, established bureaucratic clan. We do not need a chart to illustrate this, but for the purpose of consistency with later sections of this chapter where such charts are useful, I give below a chart that illustrates the origins of the clans of all the Empresses of the Kingdom of Shu:

²⁴ At the time of her death she had been honored as the Imperial Wife (*huang fu-jen*). Her personal name is not given. SKC 34/905.

²⁵ No personal name is given. Her elder brother was Wu I. SKC34/906.

²⁶ No personal name is given. She was Chang Fei's eldest daughter. SKC 34/907.

²⁷ No personal name is given. She was the younger sister of the Ching-ai Empress. SKC 34/907.

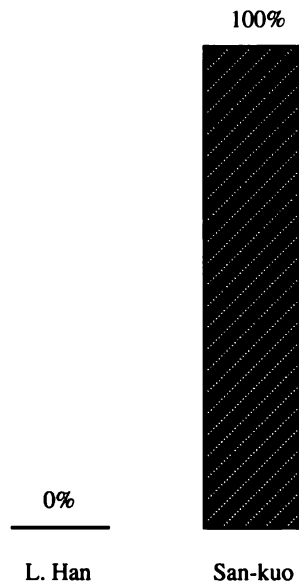


Chart 1b: Origins of clans of the San-kuo Shu Empresses

The Kingdom of Wu

The rulers of the Wu Kingdom were the Suns from Wu-chün, Fu-ch'un — a local clan from Wu. There were four rulers in all: the founder, Sun Ch'üan, known as the Ruler of Wu (*Wu chu*); and by his temple name The Great Emperor (*ta huang-ti*); his youngest son Liang, the Prince of K'uai-chi, also known as The Deposed Emperor (*fei-ti*); his sixth son Hsiu, known by his temple name The Incandescent Emperor (*ching huang-ti*); and his grandson Hao, the Marquis of Kuei-ming, also known as The Last Emperor (*mo-ti*).

As mentioned earlier, biographies of the wives of Wu rulers were contained in a chapter entitled *Consorts and Concubines (Fei-pin)*, i.e. in Chapter 5 of the *Wu shu* section of the *San-kuo chih*. In the *Wu shu*, the wives of rulers were referred to as Consorts (*fu-jen*), not as Empresses (*huang-hou*), although their biographies state that several of them were established as Empresses and Empresses Dowager, either during their lifetime or posthumously.

Chapter 50 of the *San-kuo chih*, i.e. Chapter 5 of the *Wu shu* itself, contains biographies of eleven ladies: ten with the titles of Consort, and one a Concubine. The Concubine née Ho from Tan-yang gave birth to Sun Hao, the last ruler of Wu,²⁸ and

²⁸ Her personal name is not given. Her father was Ho Sui. Her husband, Sun Ho, was a son of Sun Ch'üan, and his Heir Apparent at one time, but he was deposed and allowed to commit suicide. When his son Hao (by the née Ho) came to the throne as the last ruler of the Kingdom of Wu, he was honored as the Chao-hsien Emperor. She was honored as the Chao-hsien Empress, and then as Empress Dowager. SKC 50/1201.

will not be included in this study. The mother of the founder of Wu, Consort née Wu from Wu, will also be discarded.²⁹ Four other ladies received the title of Consort (*fu-jen*), and posthumously of Empress, because they had given birth to future Emperors and Heir Apparents: the née Hsieh from K'uai-chi,³⁰ the née Hsü from Wu-chün,³¹ the née Wang from Lang-ya,³² and the née Wang from Nan-yang.³³ All four were Consorts of The Ruler of Wu (Sun Ch'üan), and will not be included in this study.

The remaining five ladies, listed below, were all principal wives (Empresses). In addition to their surnames and personal names, where known, the list shows their choronyms, titles, and spouses.

Name	Choronym	Title	Spouse
née Pu ³⁴	Lin-huai	Consort	The Ruler of Wu
née P'an ³⁵	K'uai-chi	Consort ³⁶	The Ruler of Wu
née Ch'üan ³⁷	Wu-chün	Consort	Sun Liang
née Chu ³⁸	Wu-chün	Consort ³⁹	Sun Hsiu
née T'eng ⁴⁰	Pei-hai	Consort ⁴¹	Sun Hao

Not one of the consort clans of the ruling house of Wu was an old, established bureaucratic clan, whose prestige could be traced back to the Later Han times.

With the exception of the Pu clan from Lin-huai, no other consort clan held an official appointment with Rank 1. Pu Chih from Lin-huai was a Chancellor of State under the preceding Han dynasty, but he was only described as a clansman of the Consort née Pu. Their relations are not further specified. So it would appear that the Consort did not owe her position to this pre-eminent clan member.

²⁹ Her personal name is not given. She was originally from Wu-chün, but moved to Ch'ien-t'ang. She lost her parents early, and lived with her younger brother Ching. SKC 50/1195.

³⁰ No personal name is given. Her father was the Han Director of Imperial Secretariat Keng. SKC 50/1196.

³¹ No personal name is given. Her grandfather Chen was a good friend of Sun Chien's (father of the first Ruler of Wu), and he married Ch'ien's younger sister. Their son K'un was the Consort's father. SKC 50/1197.

³² Her personal name is not known. Her biography says that her three younger brothers all received titles as Adjunct Marquises, but none of their names are mentioned. A footnote quoting another history of the identical name, *Wu shu*, gives her father's name as Lu-chiu. When her grandson Hao came to the throne she was posthumously honored as the Ta-i Empress. It should be noted that she is the first Lang-ya Wang ever mentioned in historical sources. She is also the only clan member to have a biography in the *San-kuo chih*. None of the later dynastic histories of the early medieval period record this name, bringing into question whether the Lang-ya Wangs mentioned here were in fact related to the later Lang-ya Wangs. Although we have no reason to doubt that they belonged to the same clan, we cannot establish the relationship. SKC 50/1199.

³³ Her personal name is not given. When her son Hsiu came to the throne, she was posthumously honored as the Ching-huai Empress. SKC 50/1199.

³⁴ No personal name is given. She belonged to the same clan as Chancellor Pu Chih. SKC 50/1198.

³⁵ Her personal name is not given. SKC 50/1199.

³⁶ She was established as Empress after her son Liang became the Heir Apparent. SKC 50/1199.

³⁷ Her personal name is not given. Her father was Chamberlain for Ceremonials Ch'üan Shang. SKC 50/1200.

³⁸ Her personal name is not given. Her father was Chu Chü, her mother Sun Hsiu's elder sister, a Princess. SKC 50/1200.

³⁹ She was established as Empress when Hsiu came to the throne, called reverentially Empress Dowager after Hsiu died, and finally dismissed as the Ching Empress when Sun Hao came to the throne. SKC 50/1201.

⁴⁰ Her personal name is not given. Her father was Mu. Her great-uncle was Chamberlain for Ceremonials T'eng Yin. SKC 50/1202.

⁴¹ She was established as Empress when Sun Hao came to the throne.

It was customary in the Kingdom of Wu for consort clan members to receive noble titles due to their connection with the ruling family. Four Chus from Wu-chün, three Ch'üans from Wu-chün, three Pus from Lin-huai, and one T'eng from Pei-hai were nobles.⁴² Only the relatives of the Consort née P'an from K'uai-chi did not hold any noble titles. They were rewarded with only modest official titles.

Not a single Empress from the Kingdom of Wu during the Three Kingdoms period came from an old, established bureaucratic clan. We do not need a chart to illustrate this, but for the purpose of consistency with later sections of this chapter where such charts are useful, I give below a chart that illustrates the origins of the clans of all the Empresses of the Kingdom of Wu:

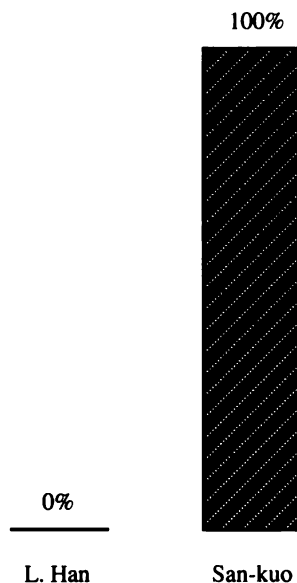


Chart 1c: Origins of clans of the San-kuo Wu Empresses

In conclusion, we must note that none of the Empresses and Imperial Consorts during the Three Kingdoms period belonged to old established bureaucratic clans. Their clans usually received some recognition through noble titles, but not through the highest appointments in the state bureaucracy. In most cases, the First Ladies came from clans who were old friends of the rulers of the Three Kingdoms, and who consequently rose to some prominence along with the ruling families. As none of the consort clans retained their relative prominence beyond the duration of the Three Kingdoms period, their fortunes appear to have fallen with those of the ruling families as well.⁴³

⁴² Four relatives of the founder's wife, Consort née Wu from Wu-chün, also held noble titles. Relatives of all other concubines and consorts who gave birth to Emperors and Heir Apparents mentioned above received varying numbers of titles, with the exception of the née Hsieh from K'uai-chi.

⁴³ The Lang-ya Wangs were possibly the only exception, but they were not really an imperial distaff clan. The girl from the Lang-ya Wang clan who has a biography in the *Wu shu* was merely one of Sun Ch'üan's concubines. She gave birth to the Heir Apparent Sun Ho, and was honored as Empress only posthumously, when her grandson Hao came to the throne.

CHIN

The composition of the *Chin shu* is typical of most dynastic histories. Ten chapters of *Imperial Annals* are followed by twenty chapters of *Treatises*. Following the *Treatises*, two chapters, entitled *Empresses and Imperial Consorts (Hou-fei)*, contain biographies of the principal wives of the Chin rulers.

There were fifteen Chin Emperors in all, excluding the three ancestors of the dynasty founder who received their titles posthumously, after the establishment of the Chin dynasty. They all belonged to the Ssu-ma clan from the Wen District in the Ho-nei commandery.⁴⁴ Ssu-ma Yen received the abdication of the Wei court, becoming the first Emperor of the new Chin dynasty. This was Emperor Wu, with the temple name Shih-tsu. The founder's reign was followed by the reigns of: Emperor Hui, Emperor Huai, Emperor Min, Emperor Yüan, Emperor Ming, Emperor Ch'eng, Emperor K'ang, Emperor Mu, Emperor Ai, the Deposed Emperor (Duke of Hai-hsi), Emperor Chien-wen, Emperor Hsiao-wu, Emperor An, and Emperor Kung.

Thirty ladies in all received biographies in the two chapters entitled *Empresses and Imperial Consorts (Hou-fei)* of the *Chin shu*. Of the thirty, exactly half were principal wives of Chin rulers. The other half were: four wives of the three ancestors of the founder of Chin, two Honored Concubines (*kuei-pin*), two Consorts (*fu-jen*), four Empresses Dowager, two Great Consorts (*t'ai-fei*),⁴⁵ and one Commandery Lady. None of them will be analyzed in this study. The principal wives, the Empresses, are listed below. In addition to their surnames and personal names where known, the list shows their choronyms, titles, and spouses.

Name	Choronym	Title	Spouse
Yang Yen	Hung-nung	The Yüan Empress	Emperor Wu
Yang Chih	Hung-nung	The Tao Empress	Emperor Wu
Chia Nan-feng	P'ing-yang	Empress	Emperor Hui
Yang Hsien-jung	T'ai-shan	Empress	Emperor Hui ⁴⁶
Yü Meng-mu	Chi-yang	The Ching Empress	Emperor Yüan
Yü Wen-chün	Ying-ch'uan	The Mu Empress	Emperor Ming
Tu Ling-yang ⁴⁷	Ching-chao	The Kung Empress	Emperor Ch'eng
Ch'u Suan-tzu	Ho-nan	The Hsien Empress	Emperor K'ang

⁴⁴ The history even gives the name of their village, which was Hsiao-ching li. CS 1/1.

⁴⁵ The title Great Consort (*t'ai-fei*) was a designation of the natural mother of a reigning Emperor who had not been his father's Empress, especially when the title Empress Dowager (*huang t'ai-hou*) was otherwise in use. See Hucker, *A Dictionary*, p. 477, entry #6157.

⁴⁶ She later became the spouse of Liu Yao — the son of the founder of the Kingdom of Han, Liu Yüan — who changed the name of the kingdom to Former Chao. As Liu Yao's wife she became known posthumously as the Hsien-wen Empress. CS 31/967.

⁴⁷ The text of the biography gives her personal name as Ling-yang, but Note #2 in CS 32/985 explains that her name was probably only Ling.

Ho Fa-erh	Lu-chiang	The Chang Empress	Emperor Mu
Wang Mu-chih	T'ai-yüan	The Ching Empress	Emperor Ai
Yü Tao-lien	Ying-ch'uan	The Hsiao Empress ⁴⁸	The Deposed Emperor
Wang Chien-chi	T'ai-yüan	The Shun Empress ⁴⁹	Emperor Chien-wen
Wang Fa-hui	T'ai-yüan	The Ting Empress	Emperor Hsiao-wu
Wang Shen-ai	Lang-ya	The Hsi Empress	Emperor An
Ch'u Ling-yüan	Ho-nan	The Ssu Empress ⁵⁰	Emperor Kung

Of the fifteen, ten belonged to already established office-holding clans that had been mentioned in earlier dynastic histories. The clans were: the Chia clan from P'ing-yang (established since the Three Kingdoms period), with one Empress; the Tu clan from Ching-chao (established since the Three Kingdoms period), with one Empress; the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan (established since the Later Han), with three Empresses; the Yang clan from Hung-nung (established since the Later Han), with two Empresses; the Yang clan from T'ai-shan (established since the Later Han), with one Empress; and the Yü clan from Ying-ch'uan (established since the Later Han), with two Empresses.

These clans did not become related to the imperial Chin family by mere chance. They were already well established, and were seeking not just to enhance their social status, but also to extend their political influence by close ties to the court. The choice of certain women as imperial consorts also shows that the court was well aware of the relative power of these clans, and was in turn seeking to profit from marital alliances with them. Most of these well-established bureaucratic clans managed to marry several daughters into the imperial family. If we judge by the number of marriages with the imperial family, the most powerful clans were the T'ai-yüan Wangs (three), the Hung-nung Yangs (two), and the Ying-ch'uan Yüs (two).

With the exception of the Tu clan from Ching-chao, all of these old bureaucratic clans among the imperial distaff relatives produced office-holders with Rank 1 under the Chin, although not in numbers that would establish them as dominant powers of the time.⁵¹ The T'ai-yüan Wangs held the highest number of such titles among them — two civilian and one military office with Rank 1. (By contrast, most of the imperial distaff clans who emerged on the political scene at this time did not hold official titles with Rank 1. The only exception was the Wang clan from Lang-ya, with eight civilian and four military titles with Rank 1).⁵²

⁴⁸ She died while the Deposed Emperor was still on the throne. After he was deposed and made Duke of Hai-hsi, the Empress posthumously became Consort (*fu-jen*) of the Duke of Hai-hsi. CS 32/978.

⁴⁹ She was posthumously honored as The Shun Empress by Emperor Hsiao-wu.

⁵⁰ When her husband, Emperor Kung, abdicated to the Liu Sung, her title was reduced to Consort of the Prince of Ling-ling. She died during the rule of the Liu Sung dynasty. CS 32/984.

⁵¹ For the names of clans that dominated the highest echelons of bureaucracy see the relevant sections of Chapter 3.

⁵² See Note #32 above for the Lang-ya Wangs mentioned in the *San-kuo chih*. Since their official titles are not given, the Lang-ya Wangs cannot be considered an old bureaucratic clan at this time. In addition, no Lang-ya Wang mentioned in the *Chin shu* or later dynastic histories claimed relationship with the San-kuo Wangs.

All clans who produced Empresses under the Chin held noble titles. The highest number of noble titles among them was held by a new clan, the Lang-ya Wangs (twenty-nine), followed by an established bureaucratic clan, the T'ai-yüan Wangs (nineteen).

In sharp contrast to the situation during the Three Kingdoms, two-thirds of the Chin Empresses came from already established bureaucratic clans, or 66.66%. An additional four belonged to newly established powerful clans, which went on to play an important role in early medieval history. Only one belonged to a clan that did not play an important role in political history neither before nor after the Chin.

The following chart illustrates the origins of the clans of all the Empresses of the Chin period:

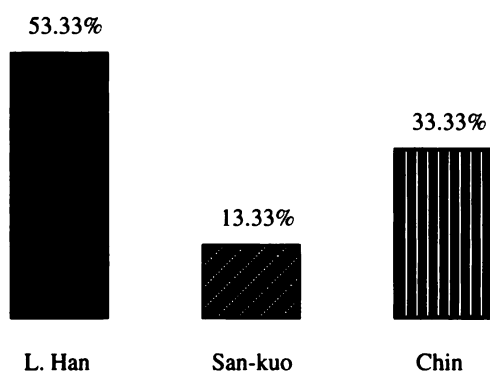


Chart 2: Origins of clans of Chin Empresses

LIU SUNG

Similar to the *Chin shu*, the ten chapters of *Imperial Annals* in the *Sung shu* are followed by, this time, thirty chapters of *Treatises*. Following the *Treatises*, a chapter entitled *Empresses and Imperial Consorts (Hou-fei)* contains biographies of the principal wives of the Liu Sung rulers. But in a new development, this chapter also lists the names and ranks of all the official positions associated with the management of the numerous palaces and apartments used as the residences of the various imperial consorts and palace ladies.⁵³ This is an interesting development in itself, but has no bearing on the subject of our study.

The Liu Sung imperial clan were the Lius from Sui-yü village(*li*) in the P'eng-ch'eng District. They were descendants of the Han Prince Chiao of Ch'u, Han Emperor Kao's younger brother. There were eight Liu Sung Emperors in all: Emperor Wu (Kao-tsu), who accepted the abdication of the last Chin ruler; Emperor Shao; Emperor Wen (T'ai-tsu); Emperor Hsiao-wu (Shih-tsu); The Former Deposed Emperor (*ch'ien fei-ti*); Emperor Ming (T'ai-tsung); The Latter Deposed Emperor (*hou fei-ti*); and Emperor Shun.

⁵³ SS 41/1270-1279.

Sixteen ladies in all received biographies in Chapter 41 of the *Sung shu*, entitled *Empresses and Imperial Consorts (Hou-fei)*.⁵⁴ Of the sixteen, only eight were the principal wives of the Liu Sung rulers. Other ladies included the mother of the founder of Liu Sung, one Grand Empress Dowager, one Consort (*fu-jen*), two Lady of Handsome Fairness (*chieh-yü*), one Lady of Chaste Beauty (*shu-yüan*), one Honored Consort (*huang t'ai-fei*), and one Lady of Bright Loveliness (*chao-hua*). They all gave birth to Liu Sung emperors.

The eight principal wives of the Liu Sung rulers are listed below. In addition to their surnames and personal names where known, the list shows their choronyms, titles, and spouses.

Name	Choronym	Title	Spouse
Tsang Ai-ch'in	Tung-kuan	The Ching Empress	Emperor Wu
Ssu-ma Mou-ying	Ho-nei	Empress	Emperor Shao
Yüan Ch'i-kuei	Ch'en-chün	Empress	Emperor Wen
Wang Hsien-yüan	Lang-ya	The Wen-mu Empress	Emperor Hsiao-wu
Ho Ling-wan	Lu-chiang	Empress ⁵⁵	The Former Deposed Emperor
Wang Chen-feng	Lang-ya	The Kung Empress	Emperor Ming
Chiang Chien-kuei	Chi-yang	Empress	The Latter Deposed Emperor
Hsieh Fan-ching	Ch'en-chün	Empress ⁵⁶	Emperor Shun

Of the eight, seven belonged to the already established clans of office-holders that had been mentioned in earlier dynastic histories. The clans were: the Chiang clan from Chi-yang (established since the Chin)⁵⁷; the Ho clan from Lu-chiang (established since the Chin); the Hsieh clan from Ch'en-chün (established since the Chin); the Ssu-ma clan from Ho-nei (the Chin imperial clan, established since the Three Kingdoms period); the Wang clan from Lang-ya (established since the Chin) with two Empresses; and the Yüan clan from Ch'en-chün (established since the Later Han). Only the wife of the founder of Liu Sung, Emperor Wu, came from a clan that was not mentioned in the sources neither before nor after this time. 87.5% of all Liu Sung Empresses belonged to the established bureaucratic clans.

⁵⁴ Two other ladies are mentioned in the biography of The Former Deposed Emperor's Empress née Ho, who were from the harem of The Former Deposed Emperor, while he was still a Heir Apparent. The two were: a daughter of Yang Chan's from T'ai-shan, who was appointed a Related Lady of Excellence (*liang-ti*); and a daughter of the Governor of I-tu, Yüan Seng-hui, whose choronym is not given, who was appointed as a Lady Who Could Comfort a Multitude (*pao-lin*). SS 41/1293. It is not clear why they were mentioned, since their titles hardly had any significance. Both titles are found in Hucker, *A Dictionary*, entry #3684 on p. 310, and entry #4488 on p. 369.

⁵⁵ During her lifetime she was the Principal Wife of the Heir Apparent, who was to become The Former Deposed Emperor after her death. Following the practice of the time, she would have become the Empress on his accession. In fact, she was posthumously made an Empress after his accession. He had no other principal wives. I have, therefore, included her in my study. SS 41/1293.

⁵⁶ Her title was lowered to Consort of the Prince of Ju-ying, after her husband, Emperor Shun, abdicated the throne to the Southern Ch'i dynasty. SS 41/1298.

⁵⁷ During the Liu Sung and later, the Chiangs listed Chi-yang, K'ao-ch'eng, as their choronym. They were direct descendants of the Chin dynasty Chiangs from Ch'en-liu, Yü.

Only one of these old bureaucratic clans managed to marry more than one daughter into the imperial family — the Lang-ya Wangs, who had two Empresses during the Liu Sung period. The Lang-ya Wangs were one of the most powerful clans under the Chin dynasty, and if we judge by the number of marriages with the Liu Sung imperial family, they were the most powerful clan at this time, too.

But the Lang-ya Wangs were a relatively new clan, having first come to national prominence under the preceding Chin dynasty.⁵⁸ Five of the seven Empresses who belonged to old clans (62.5% of all Empresses) came from clans that had first been established in the national elite under the Chin dynasty. Only two Empresses belonged to older clans: one to a Later Han clan, and one to a Three Kingdoms clan. On average, then, the Liu Sung Empresses belonged to “old” clans that were not very old.

Four of the clans who married into the imperial family produced office-holders with Rank 1. Three of the clans were old: the Lu-chiang Hos, the Lang-ya Wangs, and the Ch'en-chün Yüans. The only new clan among the imperial distaff relatives, the Tsang clan from Tung-kuan, also produced an office-holder with Rank 1. These four clans undoubtedly belong to the most influential clans of the Liu Sung period. Among them, the Lang-ya Wangs stand out as the only clan to have had two Empresses and two office-holders with Rank 1. They also stand out as the clan holding most noble titles at this time (twenty-four).⁵⁹ But all the other clans who produced Empresses held noble titles as well — with the exception of the deposed Chin imperial House of Ssu-mas.

With seven of the eight Liu Sung Empresses belonging to old bureaucratic clans, one cannot escape the impression that the old clans had a considerable influence at court. At 87.5%, the percentage of old clans among imperial distaff relatives is much higher than the proportion under the preceding Chin dynasty, when it was 60%. But, as we have noted already, most of these “old” clans were not very old.

The following chart illustrates the origins of the clans of all the Empresses of the Liu Sung period:

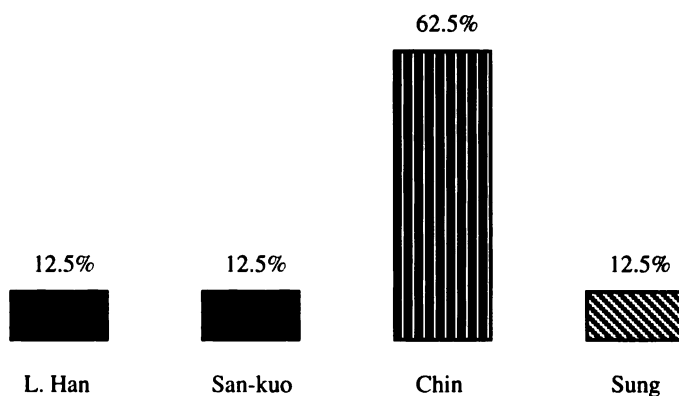


Chart 3: Origins of clans of the Liu Sung Empresses

⁵⁸ See Note #32 above.

⁵⁹ Another clan with the same number of noble titles were the P'eng-ch'eng Lius, but the Lius held no office with Rank 1, nor did they marry into the imperial family.

SOUTHERN CH'I

In the *Nan Ch'i shu*, eight chapters of *Imperial Annals* are followed by eleven chapters of *Treatises*. Chapter 20, entitled simply the *Empresses (Huang-hou)*, follows the *Treatises*. It contains biographies of the seven principal wives of the Southern Ch'i rulers, but several other imperial consorts are also mentioned. An introduction discusses briefly the order of imperial consorts, as established in the first year of the Southern Ch'i rule, but it does not rank the various titles. All the biographies are extremely brief.

The Southern Ch'i imperial clan were the Hsiao from the Lan-ling district in the Nan-lan-ling commandery. The dynasty-founder was the twenty-fourth generation descendant of the Han Chancellor of State, Ho, or so his imperial annals claim. There were seven Southern Ch'i rulers in all: Emperor Kao (T'ai-tsu), who accepted the abdication of the last Liu Sung ruler; Emperor Wu (Shih-tsu); Prince Chao-yeh of Yü-lin; Prince Chao-wen of Hai-ling; Emperor Ming (Kao-tsung); Marquis Pao-chüan of Tung-hun; and Emperor Ho.

Nine ladies in all received biographies in Chapter 20 of the *Nan Ch'i shu*, entitled *Empresses (Huang-hou)*.⁶⁰ One of them was the mother of the first Southern Ch'i Emperor Kao.⁶¹ Another was the principal wife of a Heir Apparent who never ascended the throne.⁶² They will be excluded from this study. The remaining seven were all the principal wives of the Southern Ch'i rulers, although three of them were deposed with their husbands — one to the status of a commoner, two to Princely Consorts.

The seven principal wives are listed below. In addition to their surnames and personal names where known, the list shows their choronyms, titles, and spouses.

Name	Choronym	Title	Spouse
Liu Chih-jung	Kuang-ling	The Chao Empress	Emperor Kao
P'ei Hui-chao	Ho-tung	The Mu Empress	Emperor Wu
Ho Ching-ying	Lu-chiang	Consort ⁶³	Prince of Yü-lin
Wang Shao-ming	Lang-ya	Consort ⁶⁴	Prince of Hai-ling
Liu Hui-tuan	P'eng-ch'eng	The Ching Empress	Emperor Ming
Ch'u Ling-chü	Ho-nan	Empress ⁶⁵	Marquis of Tung-hun
Wang Shun-hua	Lang-ya	Empress ⁶⁶	Emperor Ho

⁶⁰ A few other palace ladies are mentioned simply by name and choronym in the biography of Empress née P'ei in NCS 20/391-2.

⁶¹ This was Ch'en Tao-chih from Lin-huai. NCS 20/390.

⁶² This was Wang Pao-ming from Lang-ya. She was appointed Empress Dowager with the ascension of the Prince of Yü-lin, the son of her husband, the Heir Apparent Wen-hui. NCS 20/392.

⁶³ She was at one time the Empress, but when Prince of Yü-lin was deposed from the throne, she was given the title Princely Consort (*wang-fei*). The *Nan Ch'i shu* calls her "Consort." NCS 20/392.

⁶⁴ She was married to the Prince of Hai-ling, a one time Emperor whose Empress she briefly was. NCS 20/393.

⁶⁵ She was demoted to a commoner after the demotion of her husband from Emperor to the Marquis of Tung-hun. Curiously, the *Nan Ch'i shu* still calls her "Empress," while the wives of the earlier two deposed Emperors, whose own demotions were not quite as drastic as hers, were called "Princely Consorts." NCS 20/394.

⁶⁶ She was demoted to Princely Consort, after her husband, Emperor Ho, abdicated to the Liang court. NCS 20/394.

All but one of the seven Southern Ch'i Empresses belonged to old, already established clans of office-holders that had been mentioned in earlier dynastic histories. The only new clan among imperial distaff relatives were the Lius from Kuang-ling. The clans of the other Empresses had originated as office-holding clans at various times: the Ch'u clan from Ho-nan under the Chin dynasty, the Ho clan from Lu-chiang under the Chin dynasty, the Liu clan from P'eng-ch'eng during the immediately preceding Liu Sung dynasty, the P'ei clan from Ho-tung during the Three Kingdoms period, and the Wang clan from Lang-ya under the Chin dynasty.

The Lang-ya Wangs were the only clan to produce more than one Empress during the brief Southern Ch'i dynasty. The Lang-ya Wang imperial consorts did not have much luck. One was married to the Heir Apparent Wen-hui, who never ascended the throne.⁶⁷ Two were principal wives of deposed emperors: Wang Shao-ming was deposed to the status of Princely Consort when her husband was demoted to Prince of Hai-ling; Wang Shun-hua was married to the last Southern Ch'i Emperor, Ho, who abdicated the throne to the first emperor of the Liang. But their sheer number indicates that the Lang-ya Wangs were still, as under the previous early medieval dynasties, the most powerful clan.

Only two of the clans who married into the imperial family produced office-holders with Rank 1, and they were both old Chin bureaucratic clans: The Ch'u clan from Ho-nan, and the Wang clan from Lang-ya. We have to remember that only five office-holders with civilian Rank 1, and six with military Rank 1 were recorded for the Southern Ch'i dynasty — five of them holding both civilian and military posts. Of the six individuals who had achieved official Rank 1 during the Southern Ch'i three were Lang-ya Wangs. This would place the Lang-ya Wangs into the category of the most influential clan of the Southern Ch'i period. The two Lang-ya Wang Empresses (and the disregarded Princely Consort) only confirm this standing.

In an interesting twist, the majority of distaff relatives of the Southern Ch'i imperial clan did not hold noble titles. While all the clans who produced Liu Sung Empresses, with the one exception of the deposed Chin imperial House of Ssu-ma, held noble titles, the clans of only three Southern Ch'i Empresses were enfeoffed as noblemen. The three clans were: the Ch'us from Ho-nan (with three noblemen); the Lius from P'eng-ch'eng (with one nobleman); and the Wangs from Lang-ya (with four noblemen). The number of Lang-ya Wang noblemen does not seem high compared to their numbers under the previous dynasties, but it was the third highest number for any Southern Ch'i clan.⁶⁸ So the Lang-ya Wangs stand out on this account, too.

The fact that six of the seven Southern Ch'i Empresses belonged to old bureaucratic clans leaves no doubt that the old clans had a considerable influence at court. The percentage of old clans among the imperial distaff relatives at this time was 85.7% — very similar to the percentage for the preceding Liu Sung dynasty. And at this time, in two-thirds of the cases "old" meant having originated during the Chin dynasty.

⁶⁷ See Note #32 above.

⁶⁸ In fact, the Hsiao from Lan-ling held the highest number of noble titles at this time (eight), but they were a branch of the ruling house.

The following chart illustrates the origins of the clans of all the Empresses of the Southern Ch'i period:

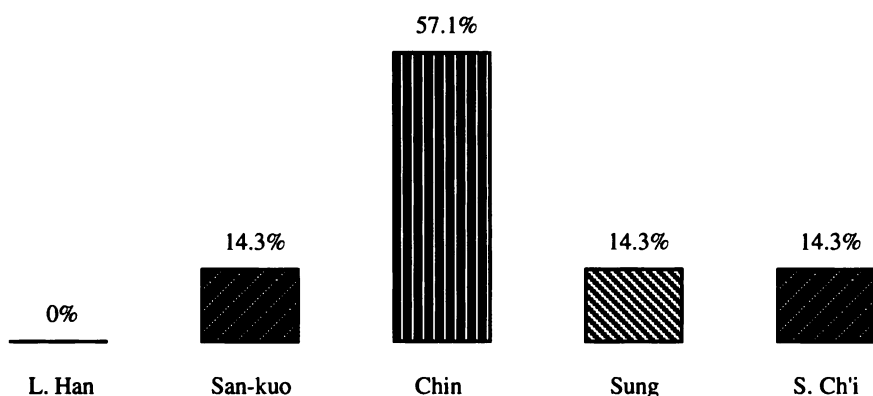


Chart 4: Origins of clans of Southern Ch'i Empresses

LIANG

There are no *Treatises* in the *Liang shu*. Six chapters of *Imperial Annals* are directly followed by the chapter entitled *Empresses (Huang-hou)*. It contains biographies of the six principal wives and imperial consorts of the Liang rulers (and even two of their fathers), with a brief historical introduction regarding imperial spouses.

The Liang ruling house belonged to the same clan as the Southern Ch'i rulers — the Hsiao from the Nan-lan-ling commandery — but the Liang came from Chung-tu village (*li*). The dynasty-founder was a descendent of the Han Chancellor of State, Ho, just like the Southern Ch'i founder, or so his imperial annals claim. There were four Liang rulers in all: Emperor Wu (Kao-tsu), who accepted the abdication of the last Southern Ch'i ruler; Emperor Chien-wen (T'ai-tsung); Emperor Yüan (Shih-tsu); and Emperor Ching, who abdicated to the founder of the Ch'en and was thereby demoted to Prince of Chiang-yin.

Six ladies received biographies in Chapter 7 of the *Liang shu*, entitled *Empresses (Huang-hou)*. Their number is low — particularly since the last Liang Emperor, Ching, died at the age of sixteen before he was betrothed. The chapter contains the biography of the mother of the first Liang Emperor, Wu.⁶⁹ Two harem ladies — an Honored Concubine (*kuei-pin*) and a Lady of Cultivated Countenance (*hsiu-jung*) — were posthumously honored as Empresses Dowager they gave birth to future emperors. None of them will be considered in this study. The remaining three ladies were the principal wives of the Liang rulers, but only two were Empresses. The third one died before Emperor Yüan (Shih-tsu) assumed the throne.

The three principal wives of the Liang rulers are listed below. In addition to

⁶⁹ Her name was Chang Shang-jou. She was first married to the Liu Sung Emperor Wen, with whom she gave birth to several Princes. Curiously, she gave birth to the Liang Emperor Kao-tsu, while in the Liu Sung harem, but the circumstances are not clear. LS 7/156.

their surnames and personal names where known, the list shows their choronyms, titles, and spouses.

Name	Choronym	Title	Spouse
Ch'ih Hui	Kao-p'ing	The Teh Empress	Emperor Wu
Wang Ling-pin	Lang-ya	The Chien Empress	Emperor Chien-wen
Hsü Chao-p'ei	Tung-hai	Consort ⁷⁰	Emperor Yüan

Two of the three *de facto* Empresses of the Liang belonged to old, already established clans of office-holders that had been mentioned in earlier dynastic histories. The two clans were: the Hsü clan from Tung-hai, and the Wang clan from Lang-ya — both first established as office-holders during the Chin dynasty.

No clan managed to place more than one of its women on the throne — not even the Lang-ya Wangs. But as one of the only two old clans among the distaff relatives, the Lang-ya Wangs still were a powerful early medieval clan.

This is further supported by the fact that the Lang-ya Wangs were the only clan among the imperial distaff relatives who produced office-holders with Rank 1. Two clan members held civilian offices with Rank 1. We have to remember that ten office-holders with civilian Rank 1, and ten with military Rank 1 were recorded under the Liang, which puts the Lang-ya Wangs into a category of their own when it comes to power and prestige under the Liang dynasty.

This is further confirmed by the number of Lang-ya Wang clan members who held noble titles during this dynasty. There were nine noble title-holders among the Lang-ya Wangs — a number matched only by the relatives of the imperial Hsiao clan itself. No other clan among imperial distaff relatives held any noble titles under the Liang.⁷¹

The percentage of old clans among Liang imperial distaff relatives was 66.66%, which is lower than the percentage for the two immediately preceding early medieval dynasties, but very close to the number for Chin.

The following chart illustrates the origins of the clans of all the Empresses of the Liang period:

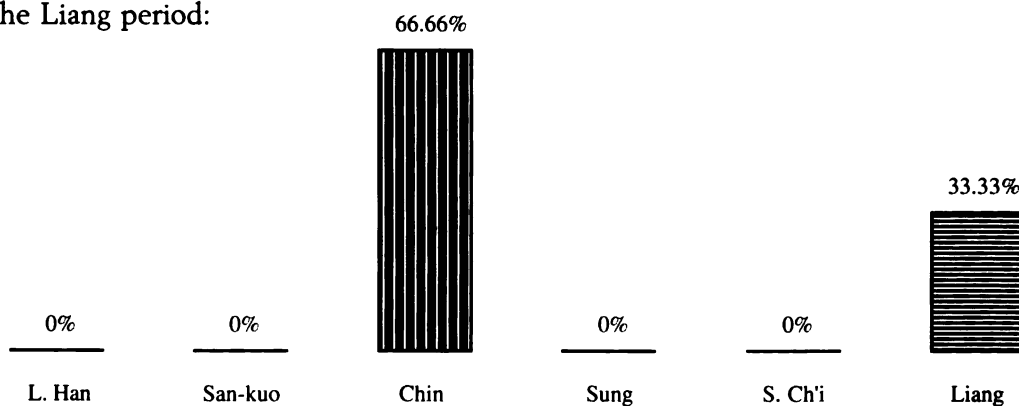


Chart 5: Origins of clans of Liang Empresses

⁷⁰ Fei. She was the principal wife of Emperor Shih-tsu, while he was still the Prince of Hsiang-tung. LS 7/163.

⁷¹ The Changs from Fan-yang were maternal relatives of the first emperor of the Liang. Four Changs were noblemen.

CH'EN

There are no *Treatises* in the *Ch'en shu*. Six chapters of *Imperial Annals* are directly followed by the chapter entitled *Empresses (Huang-hou)*. It contains biographies of the six principal wives and imperial consorts of the Ch'en rulers, along with biographical vignettes of some of their relatives. The biographies are preceded by a description of the changes and systematization that the Ch'en rulers introduced in the administration of their "rear palaces," i.e. the imperial harem.

The Ch'en rulers belonged to the Ch'en clan from Wu-hsing, Ch'ang-ch'eng. They came from Hsia-juo village (*li*). Although the Ch'en imperial annals claim that the clan descended from a Han subject, Ch'en Shih, who was the Village Head of T'ai-ch'iu, and although a family genealogy is duly provided, my study indicates that the Ch'en clan did not play an important role in the political life until this time. There were five Ch'en rulers in all: Emperor Wu (Kao-tsu), who accepted the abdication of the last Liang ruler; Emperor Wen (Shih-tsu); the Deposed Emperor (*fei-ti*); Emperor Hsüan the Filial (Kao-tsung); and the Last Ruler (*hou-chu*), who abdicated to the founder of the new Sui dynasty and received the post-humous title of the District Duke of Ch'ang-ch'eng.

Six ladies received biographies in Chapter 7 of the *Ch'en shu*, entitled *Empresses (Huang-hou)*. Five of them were Empresses. The sixth one, an Honored Consort (*kuei-fei*), gave birth to the Heir Apparent of the Last Ruler, but never received the title of Empress Dowager because the Last Ruler abdicated to the Sui dynasty. She will be excluded from this study.

The five principal wives of the Ch'en rulers are listed below. In addition to their surnames and personal names where known, the list shows their choronyms, titles, and spouses.

Name	Choronym	Title	Spouse
Chang Yao-erh ⁷²	Wu-hsing	The Hsüan Empress	Emperor Wu
Shen Miao-jung	Wu-hsing	Empress	Emperor Wen
née Wang	Lang-ya	Empress ⁷³	The Deposed Emperor
Liu Ching-yen	Ho-tung	Empress	Emperor Hsüan
Shen Wu-hua	Wu-hsing	Empress	The Last Ruler

Only one lady mentioned in Chapter 7 of the *Ch'en shu* came from an obscure background. That was Emperor Wu's Hsüan Empress, née Chang from Wu-hsing, whose father had been adopted by the Chang clan. His original surname was Niu, but no choronym is given. No other Nius are mentioned in the sources for the early medieval period. The same is true of the adoptive clan, the Wu-hsing Changs. The Hsüan Empress, née Chang, truly came from an unknown background.

⁷² Her original surname was Niu, but her father, Ching-ming, was raised by the Chang clan, so he changed the surname. The only relative of the Empress serving the Ch'en rulers, however, was a cousin, Niu Hsia. CHS 7/126.

⁷³ When her husband was deposed as Emperor and became the Prince of Lin-hai, her title was lowered to Princely Consort of Lin-huai. CHS 7/128.

But the remaining four Ch'en Empresses belonged to old, already established clans of office-holders that had been mentioned in earlier dynastic histories. The clans were: the Liu clan from Ho-tung, established since the Southern Ch'i dynasty; the Shen clan from Wu-hsing, established since the Chin dynasty, with two Empresses at this time; and the Wang clan from Lang-ya, established as an office-holding clan during the Chin dynasty.

For the first time in early medieval history the Lang-ya Wangs do not appear to enjoy a special status among the distaff clans. As the only clan with two Empresses under the Ch'en, the Shens from Wu-hsing seem to have taken over this special status from the Lang-ya Wangs. But neither clan held any offices with Rank 1 at this time. The Shens held one Arbiter post, however, and that indicates that they were a powerful clan in the Wu-hsing area.

Curiously, the only clan among the imperial distaff relatives which held an office with Rank 1 were the Changs, also from Wu-hsing, who were the only clan with obscure background. One of the Wu-hsing Changs held both a civilian and a military office with Rank 1. These two Wu-hsing clans — the Changs and the Shens — were the only two clans among the imperial distaff relatives who held noble titles under the Ch'en. The Changs held two, and the Shens eight.⁷⁴

Based on the analysis of the Ch'en imperial distaff relatives and the official and noble titles they held, it appears that the two Wu-hsing clans played an important role at this time. The Wu-hsing Shen clan was a prominent early medieval clan, already established under the Chin dynasty but most powerful under the Liu Sung and again now under the Ch'en. The Wu-hsing Chang clan, on the other hand, was a new clan on the national political scene, and first emerged at this time.

Most of the clans who, like the Wu-hsing Changs, produced office-holders with Rank 1 under the Ch'en, belonged to newly emerged clans. The old clans, however, controlled Arbiter appointments, and had influence on the imperial family through marriages to Ch'en Emperors. They produced most of the Empresses at this time — 80% in fact.

The following chart illustrates the origins of the clans of all the Empresses of the Ch'en period:

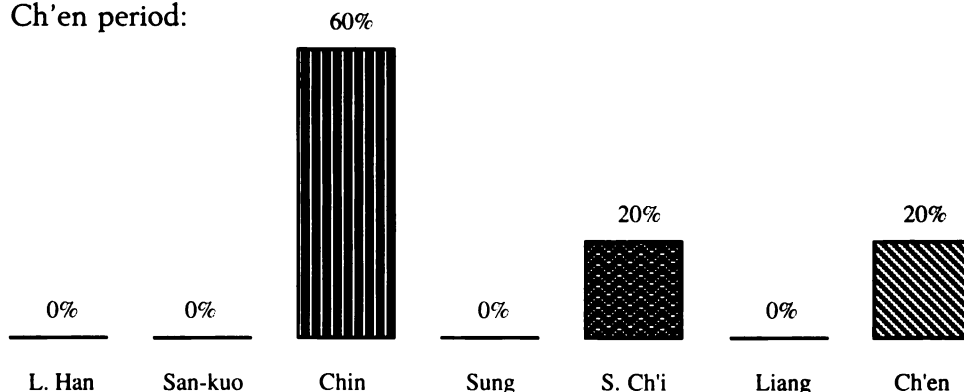


Chart 6: Origins of clans of Ch'en Empresses

⁷⁴ The Shens were the only clan who had more than three noblemen during the Ch'en dynasty.

T'O-PA WEI

The composition of the *Wei shu* is typical of most dynastic histories, but the twenty chapters of *Treatises* are placed at the end of the history, behind the biographies of various barbarians. Twelve chapters of *Imperial Annals* are followed by one chapter of biographies of the T'o-pa Wei Empresses, entitled simply *Empresses (Huang-hou)*.

The T'o-pa Wei rulers belonged to a Hsien-pei tribe. They were barbarians, so far as the Chinese were concerned, but they claimed to be descendants of the Chinese mythical Yellow Emperor, and they eventually took the Chinese surname Yüan. When they first appear in historical records, their choronym is Tai Commandery.

The first chapter of the *Imperial Annals* contains the alleged genealogy of the T'o-pa Wei imperial clan, which begins with the mythical Yellow Emperor, and states that sixty-seven generations elapsed between Yellow Emperor's son who was the progenitor of the T'o-pas, and the first T'o-pa ancestor known by name, Emperor Ch'eng. Emperor Ch'eng is followed by a list of twelve Emperors, all of whom have peculiarly Chinese-sounding names, which seems to indicate that they were merely a fabrication of the T'o-pas who eventually founded the (Northern) Wei dynasty. Finally, an individual called Chieh-fen (Emperor Shen-wu) appears, and he is the father of the dynasty-founder, Emperor Shen-yüan (Shih-tsu).⁷⁵ Emperor Shen-yüan is the first T'o-pa Wei Emperor whose spouse, Empress née Tou, is known. Hers is the first biography in Chapter 13 of the *Wei shu*.

Emperor Shen-yüan was followed by what looks like an irregular succession of sons and grandsons, although rule was primarily by lateral succession, which was traditional among the pastoral tribes of the northern steppes. The T'o-pa realm was at one point divided into three areas given to three members of the imperial clan to rule.⁷⁶ The following is a list of Emperors that succeeded Emperor Shen-yüan, in the order in which they appear in the *Wei shu*, regardless of such divisions: Emperor Wen, Emperor Chang, Emperor P'ing, Emperor Ssu, Emperor Chao, Emperor Huan,⁷⁷ Emperor Mu,⁷⁸ Emperor P'ing-wen, Emperor Hui, Emperor Yang, Emperor Lieh,⁷⁹ Emperor Chao-ch'eng (Kao-tsu), Emperor Tao-wu (T'ai-tsu), Emperor Ming-yüan (T'ai-tsung), Emperor T'ai-wu (Shih-tsu), Emperor Ching-mu (Kung-tsung), Emperor Wen-ch'eng (Kao-tsung), Emperor Hsien-wen (Hsien-tsu), Emperor Hsiao-wen (Kao-tsu), Emperor Hsüan-wu (Shih-tsung), Emperor Hsiao-

⁷⁵ All the ancestors of the T'o-pa Wei imperial clan are referred to as Emperors, although that was not their title until the T'o-pas came under the Chinese influence and established posthumous titles according to the Chinese model.

⁷⁶ The areas controlled by different members of the T'o-pa ruling clan were called "*pu*," variously called "regions," "divisions," or "tribes" in English, depending on the author and the context. See Hucker, *A Dictionary*, pp. 390-1, entry # 4764.

⁷⁷ His son P'u-ken was established as the ruler of his "*pu*" upon his death, but the *Wei shu* does not call him "Emperor." WS 1/7.

⁷⁸ P'u-ken also inherited the rule of Emperor Mu's "*pu*" but he died after a month in that position. P'u-ken's son was established as the ruler at the time of his birth, but died immediately. Neither P'u-ken nor his son are called "Emperors" by the *Wei shu*. WS 1/9.

⁷⁹ Emperor Yang and Emperor Lieh both ruled twice, following each other. WS 1/11.

ming (Su-tsung), Emperor Hsiao-chuang, the Former Deposed Emperor (Prince of Kuang-ling), the Latter Deposed Emperor (Prince of An-ting), Emperor Ch'u (Prince of P'ing-yang), and Emperor Hsiao-ching who abdicated to the Northern Ch'i court and received the title of the Prince of Chung-shan.

Twenty-eight ladies received biographies in Chapter 13 of the *Wei shu*, entitled the *Empresses (Huang-hou)*. Twenty-four of them were the principal wives of T'o-pa Emperors, or Empresses. Emperor Tao-wu's Consort née Liu from Tai-chün gave birth to the future Emperor Ming-yüan, and received the title of Empress Dowager posthumously, so she will be excluded from this study.

In addition, Chapter 13 mentions several Consorts who did not receive the title of Empress posthumously. Emperor Wen's Secondary Consort (*tz'u-fei*) née Lan is mentioned because she gave birth to two sons, one of whom eventually became Emperor Ssu.⁸⁰ Emperor Chao-ch'eng's Consort née Mu-jung, Mu-jung Yüan-chen's younger sister, is mentioned because she was the first choice as his spouse from the Mu-jung clan. She died before he ascended the throne, and was followed as his principal spouse and Empress by her niece, Mu-jung Yüan-chen's daughter.⁸¹

Some of the Emperors' governesses and wet nurses also received special mention in Chapter 13 of the *Wei shu*. The Governess of Emperor T'ai-wu (Shih-tsu), née Tou, was honored as Guardian Dowager (*pao t'ai-hou*) when Emperor T'ai-wu ascended the throne, and later promoted to Empress Dowager.⁸² Emperor Wen-ch'eng's (Kao-tsung) wet nurse née Ch'ang from Liao-hsi received the same titles — first Guardian Dowager (*pao t'ai-hou*), then Empress Dowager — when Emperor Wen-ch'eng ascended the throne.⁸³

Only the twenty-four principal wives, the Empresses, are analyzed in this study. They are listed below, in the order in which they appear in the text of Chapter 13 of the *Wei shu*, i.e. in chronological order. Besides their surnames, the list shows their choronyms, titles, and spouses.⁸⁴

Name	Choronym	Title	Spouse
née Tou	Mo-lu-hui ⁸⁵	Empress	Emperor Shen-yüan
née Feng	?	Empress	Emperor Wen
née Ch'i ⁸⁶	?	Empress	Emperor Huan

⁸⁰ WS 13/322. For the definition of Secondary Consort see Hucker, *A Dictionary*, p. 558, entry #7556.

⁸¹ WS 13/323.

⁸² She first entered the palace with her two daughters upon the execution of her husband's family, whose name is not specified. Emperor T'ai-tsung made her the Governess of Emperor T'ai-tsu, whom she raised as her own son. WS 13/326.

⁸³ She also entered the palace as punishment. Emperor Shih-tsu made her Emperor Kao-tsung's wet nurse. WS 13/327.

⁸⁴ The *Wei shu* does not record personal names for any of the Empresses.

⁸⁵ Mo-lu-hui was the name of the Tribe (*pu*) of which the Empress's father Pin was an Overseer (*pu ta-jen*). Although the Empress had a Chinese surname, she was not Han Chinese. For the definition of Tribal Overseer see Hucker, *A Dictionary*, p. 467, entry #5969.

⁸⁶ Chapter 13 of the *Pei shih* gives the surname as Wei. See Note #4 in WS 13/342.

née Wang	Kuang-ning	Empress	Emperor P'ing-wen
née Mu-jung	Tai-chün	Empress	Emperor Chao-ch'eng
née Ho	Tai-chün ⁸⁷	Empress	Emperor Hsien-ming
née Mu-jung	Tai-chün	Empress	Emperor Tao-wu
née Yao	? ⁸⁸	The Chao-ai Empress	Emperor Ming-yüan
née Tu	Wei-chün	The Mi Empress	Emperor Ming-yüan
née Ho-lien	? ⁸⁹	Empress	Emperor T'ai-wu
née Ho	Tai-chün	The Ching-ai Empress	Emperor T'ai-wu
née Yu-chiu-lü	? ⁹⁰	The Kung Empress	Emperor Ching-mu
née Feng	Ch'ang-lo	The Wen-ming Empress	Emperor Wen-ch'eng
née Li	Liang-kuo	The Yüan Empress	Emperor Wen-ch'eng
née Li	Chung-shan	The Ssu Empress	Emperor Hsien-wen
née Lin	P'ing-yüan	The Chen Empress	Emperor Hsiao-wen
née Feng	Ch'ang-lo	The Fei Empress	Emperor Hsiao-wen
née Feng ⁹¹	Ch'ang-lo	The Yu Empress	Emperor Hsiao-wen
née Kao	Po-hai ⁹²	The Wen-chao Empress	Emperor Hsiao-wen
née Yü	Tai-chün	The Shun Empress	Emperor Hsüan-wu
née Kao ⁹³	Po-hai	Empress	Emperor Hsüan-wu
née Hu	An-ting	The Ling Empress	Emperor Hsüan-wu
née Hu ⁹⁴	An-ting	Empress	Emperor Hsiao-ming
née Kao	? ⁹⁵	Empress ⁹⁶	Emperor Hsiao-ching

Not a single Empress mentioned in the *Wei shu* belonged to the already established clans of office-holders mentioned in earlier dynastic histories. All T'o-pa distaff relatives belonged to clans that came to power together with the T'o-pas, whether they were ethnically Hsien-pei, or Han Chinese. The old, established Chinese official clans were not able to extend their political influence under the T'o-pas through marital ties to the court.

⁸⁷ Her biography gives no choronym. WS 13/324. Her father Yeh-kan was the Tribal Overseer of the Eastern Tribe. Clan's choronym is given in WS 83A/1811.

⁸⁸ Her biography gives no choronym. Her father was Yao-hsing. WS 13/325.

⁸⁹ Her biography gives no choronym. Her father was Ch'ü-kai. WS 13/327.

⁹⁰ Her biography gives no choronym. Her father was P'i, Prince of Ho-tung. WS 13/327.

⁹¹ Both Emperor Hsiao-wen's Empresses née Feng from Ch'ang-lo were daughters of the Grand Preceptor Feng Hsi. WS 13/332.

⁹² The biography of the Empress herself does not give this choronym. The biography of her father, the Minister of Education Kao Chao, states that he claimed to be from Po-hai. WS 83B/1829.

⁹³ She was the Wen-chao Empress's niece. WS 13/336.

⁹⁴ She was a niece, twice removed, of the Ling Empress née Hu from An-ting. WS 13/340.

⁹⁵ Her biography gives no choronym. She was the second daughter of the Hsien-wu Prince of Ch'i. WS 13/341.

⁹⁶ Her title was reduced to the Princely Consort of Chung-shan with the abdication to the Northern Ch'i. WS 13/341.

Some of the imperial distaff clans produced more than one Empress. The Feng clan from Ch'ang-lo had three Empresses in all. The choronym of the fourth Empress, née Feng, is unknown.⁹⁷ The Kao clan from Po-hai produced two Empresses, while the choronym of the third Empress, née Kao, is unknown.⁹⁸ Two Empresses belonged to a Ho clan from Tai-chün, and two others to the Hu clan from An-ting. Other clans produced only one Empress under T'o-pa rule.

Most of the clans who produced Empresses under the T'o-pa Wei also produced office-holders with Rank 1: the Kao clan from Po-hai held ten civilian and six military posts with Rank 1;⁹⁹ the Yü clan from Tai-chün held three civilian and three military posts with Rank 1; the Feng clan from Ch'ang-lo held two civilian and two military posts of the highest rank; the Tu clan from Wei-chün also held two civilian and two military posts of such rank; the Hu clan from An-ting held two civilian posts and one military post. Several of the distaff clans held only one civilian and/or one military title with Rank 1: the Ho clan from Tai-chün; the Li clan from Chung-shan; the Li clan from Liang-kuo; the Mu-jung clan from Tai-chün; and the Wang clan from Kuang-ning. Of the remaining distaff clans whose choronym is known, only the P'ing-yüan Lins and the Mo-lu-hui Tous did not hold official appointments with Rank 1.

With the exception of the Li clan from Liang-kuo and the Lin clan from P'ing-yüan, all distaff clans for whom the choronyms are known held noble titles. The highest number of noble titles was held by the Po-hai Kaos (thirty-nine), followed by the Tai-chün Yüs (eighteen), the Tai-chün Hos (twelve), the Ch'ang-lo Fengs (eleven), the Chung-shan Lis (eleven), the An-ting Hus (nine), the Wei-chün Tus (eight), the Kuang-ning Wangs (six), the Tai-chün Mu-jungs (three), and the Yu-chiu-lü clan for whom the choronym is unknown, but which held one known noble title.¹⁰⁰ If Emperor Ming-yüan's Chao-ai Empress, née Yao, belonged to the Yao clan from Shang-tang, that clan should join the list, as it held seven noble titles. Her biography, however, does not make that connection.¹⁰¹

With most Empresses coming from new clans who held both noble titles and official titles with Rank 1, one may get the impression that the Empresses belonged to the most prominent clans that came to power under the T'o-pa rule. But when we turn back to Chapters 3 and 4, and look at the lists of clans who held the highest number of such titles under the T'o-pa Wei, we find that only a few of the T'o-pa distaff relatives belonged to the most influential clans among office-holders and noblemen. The only clans that we find on all three lists are the Po-hai Kaos, and the Tai-chün Yüs.

⁹⁷ The choronym of Emperor Wen's Empress, née Feng, is not given. Two Feng clans were well known under the T'o-pa rule: the Ch'ang-lo clan, and the Po-hai clan.

⁹⁸ This was the Empress of the last T'o-pa Wei Emperor, Hsiao-ching.

⁹⁹ Throughout this chapter the titles which were both military and civilian in nature will be counted under both categories. For details see Chapter 3.

¹⁰⁰ That of the father of Emperor Ching-mu's Kung Empress, Yu-chiu-lü P'i, who was Prince of Ho-tung, according to her biography in WS 13/327.

¹⁰¹ Her only direct relatives mentioned in the *Wei shu* are her father Yao-hsing (WS 13/325), and her younger brother Huang-mei (WS 83A/1814). Neither biography gives the choronym.

The Po-hai Kaos held the highest number of noble titles recorded for the T'o-pa Wei period (thirty-nine), and the second highest number of official titles with Rank 1 (sixteen). With two Empresses installed toward the end of the T'o-pa Wei dynasty, the Kaos appear to have had both influence and prestige.

They are followed by the Tai-chün Yüs, who held eighteen noble titles and six official titles with Rank 1. The Yüs only produced one Empress, however, toward the end of the dynasty. The Ch'ang-lo Fengs, on the other hand, had three Empresses, but only eleven noblemen and four official titles with Rank 1. The An-ting Hus had two Empresses, nine noblemen, and three official posts with Rank 1. The Tai-chün Hos had two Empresses, twelve noblemen, and two official titles with Rank 1. Together, the above clans represent the most powerful group among the distaff relatives.

My study of official appointments and noble titles awarded by the T'o-pa Wei dynasty (see Chapters 3 and 4) showed the T'o-pa Wei society as very fluid, open to the emergence of new individuals and clans at the very top. The fact that not a single T'o-pa Empress came from an established bureaucratic clan confirms the earlier findings. In that sense, then, T'o-pa Wei society most closely resembles that of the Three Kingdoms period, during which none of the Empresses came from the old Later Han bureaucratic clans. This stands, however, in sharp contrast to the interceding Chin society, in which 60% of the Empresses came from already established clans.

The following chart illustrates the origins of the clans of all the Empresses of the T'o-pa Wei period:

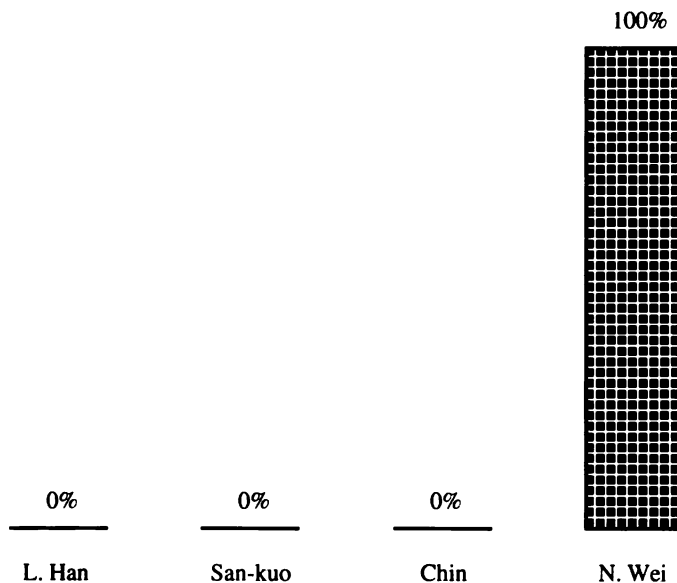


Chart 7: Origins of clans of the T'o-pa Wei Empresses

EASTERN WEI / NORTHERN CH'I

There are no *Treatises* in the *Pei Ch'i shu*. Eight chapters of *Imperial Annals* are directly followed by the chapter containing biographies of eight principal wives of the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i rulers. This chapter was originally missing from the text of the *Pei Ch'i shu*. The biographies contained in the present text of Chapter 9 were extracted from Chapter 14 of the *Pei shih*. The chapter does not deal with any imperial consorts other than the Empresses, and it does not contain a description of various titles in the imperial harem.

The Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i rulers belonged to the Kao clan from Po-hai, T'iao. As we have noted in a previous section of this chapter, the Kaos were the most influential clan under the T'o-pa Wei rule, judging from the number of official and noble titles they received, and the number of Empresses they married into the imperial family. They claimed to continue the Wei dynasty in the eastern part of the T'o-pa Wei realm, and therefore called it the Eastern Wei. It was only later that they formally established their own dynasty, the Northern Ch'i. There were eight Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i rulers in all: Emperor Shen-wu (Kao-tsu); Emperor Wen-hsiang (Shih-tsung); Emperor Wen-hsüan (Hsien-tsu); the Deposed Emperor (*fei-ti*) ; Emperor Hsiao-chao; Emperor Wu-ch'eng (Shih-tsu); the Last Ruler (*hou-chu*) ; and the Child Ruler (*yu-chu*), who was captured by the contending Northern Chou army, enfeoffed as the Duke of Wen-kuo by the Chou Emperor Wu, and finally allowed to commit suicide along with most of his clan.

Eight ladies received biographies in Chapter 9 of the *Pei Ch'i shu*, and all but one of them were the principal wives, the Empresses. A woman née Mu for whom the choronym is not known is called "Empress" by the dynastic history, but she merely gave birth to the Heir Apparent of the Last Ruler, the Child Ruler.¹⁰² She will be excluded from this study. The Last Ruler had two Empresses, while no Empresses are recorded for the Deposed Emperor and the Child Ruler.

The seven principal wives of the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i rulers are listed below. In addition to their surnames and personal names where known, the list shows their choronyms, titles, and spouses.

Name	Choronym	Title	Spouse
Lou Chao-chün	Tai-chün	The Ming Empress	Emperor Shen-wu
née Yüan	Tai/Ho-nan ¹⁰³	The Ching Empress	Emperor Wen-hsiang
Li Tsu-o	Chao-chün	Empress	Emperor Wen-hsüan
née Yüan ¹⁰⁴	? ¹⁰⁵	Empress	Emperor Hsiao-chao
née Hu	An-ting	Empress	Emperor Wu-ch'eng
née Hu-lü	Shuo-chou	Empress	The Last Ruler
née Hu	An-ting	Empress	The Last Ruler

One Empress came from an obscure background. The choronym for Emperor Hsiao-chao's Empress, née Yüan, is not known, although her father Yüan Man received a biography due to his family ties with the imperial clan.

Of the remaining six Empresses for whom the choronyms are known, all but one belonged to old, already established clans of office-holders that had been mentioned in earlier dynastic histories. Only the Last Ruler's Empress née Hu-lü from Shuo-chou came from a clan never before mentioned in the historical sources. The other five Empresses belonged to clans that became prominent under the preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty.

Except for the Empress née Yüan whose background is not known, all the other six Empresses belonged to clans which produced office-holders with Rank 1. The An-ting Hus, the only clan to have had two Empresses under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i, held only one civilian office with Rank 1. The Chao-chün Lis held only one military office with Rank 1. The Lou clan from Tai-chün and the Yüan clan also originally from Tai-chün, but now listing Ho-nan as its choronym,¹⁰⁶ both held four civilian and three military titles with Rank 1. The clan which held the highest number of official titles, however, was the only clan among the imperial distaff relatives which did not emerge as a prominent clan until this very time — the Hu-lü clan from Shuo-chou. The Hu-lüs held seven civilian and seven military titles with Rank 1. Although all the distaff clans with known backgrounds held official titles, the number of titles held by each clan indicates a wide disparity in their political role at the time.

Similarly, with the exception of the clan of Empress née Yüan whose background is not known, the clans of the remaining six Empresses all held noble titles. As with the official titles, the number of noble titles held by each distaff clan varied widely: the An-ting Hus were the only clan with only one nobleman; the Lous from Tai-chün and the Hu-lüs from Shuo-chou both had five noblemen; and the Chao-chün Lis and the Ho-nan Yüans¹⁰⁷ both had nine noblemen. The disparity in the number of noble titles held by each clan seems to indicate a wide disparity in their social standing.

Based on the analysis of the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i imperial distaff relatives and the official and noble titles they held, it appears that no single clan played a dominant role at this time. If we judge by the number of Empresses, the An-ting Hus, the only clan to have produced two Empresses, appears to have been the most influential. If we judge by the number of official titles with Rank 1, the newly emerged Shuo-chou Hu-lü clan appears to have been the strongest.¹⁰⁸ If we judge

¹⁰² She is known as née Mu, but her background is unclear. Her mother was a slave, who became pregnant while serving the Palace Attendant Sung Ch'in-tao, who therefore may or may not be her father. Officially, her origins are not known. The surname Mu was conferred on her by the Last Ruler, after she gave birth to his Heir Apparent, the Child Ruler. PCS 9/128.

¹⁰³ She was the T'o-pa Wei Emperor Ching's elder sister. The clan was originally from the Tai commandery, but later assumed Ho-nan, Lo-yang, as its choronym.

¹⁰⁴ After she married Prince of Ch'ang-shan as his primary consort, she received the surname Pu-liu-ku. WS 9/126.

¹⁰⁵ Her biography does not state her choronym. PCS 9/126. Her father was Yüan Man, but his biography in PCS 48/668 does not give the choronym either.

¹⁰⁶ They were the relatives and descendants of the T'o-pa Wei ruling family.

¹⁰⁷ They were the relatives and descendants of the T'o-pa Wei ruling family.

¹⁰⁸ The Hu-lüs held the highest number of official titles with Rank 1, not only among the imperial distaff relatives, but of any Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i clan.

by the number of noble titles, the Chao-chün Lis and the Ho-nan Yüans head the list.¹⁰⁹ The Ho-nan Yüans were the T'o-pa Wei imperial clan, and they carried their noble titles into the Eastern Wei dynasty.¹¹⁰ The number of titles they held, therefore, was probably more a reflection of their past prestige, than of their current power. The An-ting Hus, we will recall, were one of the most influential clans during the preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty, and their prestige at this time seems already to have diminished considerably. This leaves the Shuo-chou Hu-lü clan and the Tai-chün Lou clan in leading positions in Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i society.

71.4% of the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i Empresses came from clans established during the preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty. The most influential clan among the imperial distaff relatives at this time, however, appears to have been the newly emerged Hu-lü clan from Shuo-chou.

The following chart illustrates the origins of the clans of all the Empresses of the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i period:

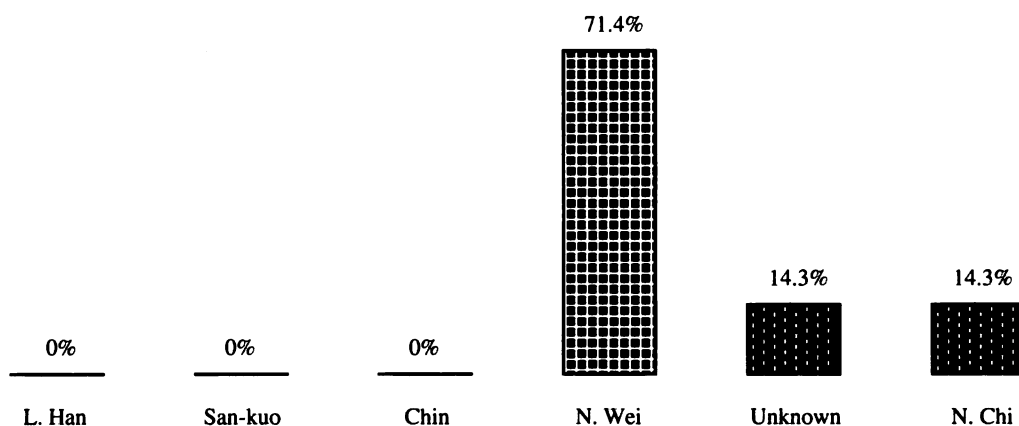


Chart 8: Origins of clans of Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i Empresses

¹⁰⁹ The Chao-chün Lis and the Ho-nan Yüans held the highest number of noble titles not only among the imperial distaff relatives, but of any Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i clan, with the exception of the imperial clan itself, the Po-hai Kaos.

¹¹⁰ The titles were lowered. For details, see the relevant section of Chapter 4.

WESTERN WEI / NORTHERN CHOU

There are no *Treatises* in the *Chou shu*. Eight chapters of *Imperial Annals* are directly followed by a chapter entitled *Empresses (Huang-hou)*. The chapter contains biographies of the twelve principal wives and concubines of the Western Wei/ Northern Chou rulers, all of whom are called Empresses, although in fact some were Empresses Dowager. The introduction to the chapter states that the Northern Chou harem was organized according to a system of ordered titles, but it does not contain a description of them.

The Western Wei/Northern Chou rulers belonged to the Yü-wen clan from Tai-chün, Wu-ch'uan. Like their predecessors, the T'o-pa Wei rulers, who claimed to have descended from the Yellow Emperor, the rulers of Western Wei/Northern Chou claimed to be descendants of another Chinese mythical figure — Emperor Shen-nung. The first chapter of the *Imperial Annals* claims that, when Emperor Shen-nung was destroyed by the Yellow Emperor, his children and grandchildren took exile in the northern wilderness, until finally one of their descendants became the king of the Hsien-pei, and took the name of his kingdom (the Kingdom of Yü-wen) as their surname. When they first appeared in Chinese historical records, the choronym of the Yü-wens was Tai Commandery.

There were six Western Wei/Northern Chou rulers in all: Emperor Wen (T'ai-tsu); Emperor Hsiao-min; Emperor Ming (Shih-tsung); Emperor Wu (Kao-tsu); Emperor Hsüan; and Emperor Ching, who lost the throne to the Sui, was enfeoffed as the Duke of Chieh-kuo by the Sui rulers, and died during the first year of Sui rule at the age of nine.

Although there were only six Western Wei/Northern Chou rulers, twelve ladies were referred to as Empresses in their biographies in Chapter 9 of the *Chou shu*. Three of them were Empresses Dowager, who received the highest title because they gave birth to future Emperors. They will be disregarded in this study. The unusually high number of Empresses is primarily due to a new system established during the reign of Emperor Hsüan, which first allowed four, and then five Empresses to occupy the exalted position at the same time. The "Four Empresses" system allowed for an Empress for each direction — rather like the system which classified the Generals. Later, a fifth position was added — that of the "center." It is not quite clear why such a system came into use toward the end of the Western Wei/Northern Chou rule. Most likely, the multiplication of the title of Empress meant that the imperial family wished to placate more contending clans, and to gain more allies in its own quest to stay in power.

The nine Western Wei/Northern Chou Empresses are listed below. In addition to their surnames and personal names where known, the list shows their choronyms, titles, and spouses.

Name	Choronym	Title	Spouse
née Yüan	Ho-nan/Tai ¹¹¹	Empress	Emperor Wen
Yüan Hu-mo	Ho-nan/Tai ¹¹²	Empress	Emperor Hsiao-min
née Tu-ku	Yün-chung	Empress	Emperor Ming
née A-shih-na	? ¹¹³	Empress ¹¹⁴	Emperor Wu
Yang Li-hua	Hung-nung ¹¹⁵	Empress	Emperor Hsüan Ch'en
Yüeh-i	Ying-ch'uan ¹¹⁶	Empress ¹¹⁷	Emperor Hsüan
Yüan Lo-shang	Ho-nan ¹¹⁸	Empress ¹¹⁹	Emperor Hsüan
Wei-ch'ih Ch'ih-fan	Tai-chün	Empress ¹²⁰	Emperor Hsüan
Ssu-ma Ling-i	Ho-nei	Empress ¹²¹	Emperor Ching

Almost half the Western Wei/Northern Chou Empresses belonged to the imperial clans of earlier dynasties: one to the Chin imperial clan of Ssu-ma; three to the T'o-pa Wei imperial clan of Yüan.¹²² That three Western Wei/Northern Chou Empresses belonged to the T'o-pa Wei ruling clan should not be surprising, since the Western Wei rulers claimed to be the legitimate heirs of Wei rule (at least until they established themselves in their own right as the Chou dynasty), and could only profit from close family ties with the Wei ruling house. After the fall of the Chin, the Ssu-ma clan retained its prominence under the T'o-pa Wei rulers as well.

One Empress belonged to the Yang clan from Hung-nung, which was to become the Sui imperial clan. The Yangs had played a prominent role during the Later Han, the Three Kingdoms period, the Chin, and the T'o-pa Wei, but the T'o-pa Wei Yangs only claimed to be from Hung-nung.¹²³ Even if the Hung-nung Yangs prominent at this time were not descended from the Later Han clan, they were at

¹¹¹ She was a younger sister of the T'o-pa Wei Emperor Hsiao-wu. CHO 9/142.

¹¹² She was the T'o-pa Wei Emperor Wen's fifth daughter. CHO 9/143.

¹¹³ She was a daughter of the Mukan Khan of the Turks. CHO 9/143.

¹¹⁴ She was honored as Empress Dowager when Emperor Hsüan came to the throne. The title was later changed to the Empress Dowager of Celestial Origin (*t'ien-yüan huang t'ai-hou*), and then to the Senior Empress Dowager of Celestial Origin (*shang t'ien-yüan huang t'ai-hou*). Emperor Ching honored her as the Grand Empress Dowager (*t'ai-huang t'ai-hou*). CHO 9/144.

¹¹⁵ She was the eldest daughter of the future Sui Emperor Wen. CHO 9/145.

¹¹⁶ According to her biography, the choronym was self-claimed. She was the eighth daughter of the General-in-chief Shan-t'i. CHO 9/146.

¹¹⁷ She was Celestial Empress of the Left (*t'ien tso huang-hou*), Celestial Grand Empress of the Left (*t'ien tso ta huang-hou*), and Celestial Grand Empress of the Center (*t'ien-chung ta huang-hou*) — one of the four and one of the five Empresses respectively. CHO 9/147.

¹¹⁸ She belonged to the T'o-pa Wei imperial clan. CHO 9/147.

¹¹⁹ She originally entered the palace as the Honored Consort (*kuei-fei*), but was eventually established as the Celestial Empress of the Right (*t'ien yu huang-hou*), and Celestial Grand Empress of the Right (*t'ien yu ta huang-hou*). CHO 9/147.

¹²⁰ She entered the palace as Senior Honored Consort (*chang kuei-fei*), but was later established as the Celestial Grand Empress of the Left (*t'ien tso ta huang-hou*). CHO 9/148.

¹²¹ With the abdication to the Sui, she was demoted by the Sui Emperor Wen to the status of a commoner, and eventually married a Regional Inspector, Li Tan. CHO 9/148.

¹²² They were the relatives and descendants of the T'o-pa Wei ruling family. Originally from Tai-chün, the clan now listed Ho-nan as its choronym.

¹²³ As previously noted, it is not certain that the later Yangs descended from the Yangs known in the Later Han times. Family ties between the Chin and the T'o-pa clan members cannot be established.

this time a well-established bureaucratic clan. One Empress claimed to belong to the old Later Han Ch'en clan from Ying-ch'uan. The Ying-ch'uan Ch'ens were prominent in the political life of the Later Han and the Three Kingdoms period, but they disappeared from the national scene after that time. At this point therefore they cannot be considered an established bureaucratic clan.

The remaining three Empresses came from clans that had not previously been mentioned in the historical sources. All three of them were non-Chinese. While the Empresses née Tu-ku from Yün-chung, and née Wei-ch'ih from Tai-chün can be said to have come from obscure backgrounds, the Empress née A-shih-na was a daughter of the Mukan Khan of the Turks, and therefore came from the most exalted background.

The clans of eight of the nine Western Wei/Northern Chou Empresses produced office-holders with Rank 1. The Yüan clan from Ho-nan produced three Empresses, and also achieved the highest number of office-holders among the distaff relatives — fifteen.¹²⁴ The Yang clan from Hung-nung produced nine office-holders with Rank 1; the Wei-chih clan from Tai-chün produced five office-holders with Rank 1; the Ssu-ma clan from Ho-nei and the Tu-ku clan from Yün-chung each produced three title-holders with Rank 1; and the Ch'en clan from Ying-ch'uan produced only one office-holder with Rank 1 at this time. The only Empress who belonged to a clan that did not hold a single official title with Rank 1 was the daughter of the Mukan Khan of the Turks, née A-shih-na. Her relatives may well have held official titles at the Turkish court, but none were employed or honored by the rulers of Northern China Proper.

With the exception of the Ch'en clan from Ying-ch'uan, all the clans among the Chou distaff relatives which produced office-holders with Rank 1, also held noble titles. As with the official titles, the number of noble titles held by each distaff clan varied widely: the Ho-nan Yüans and the Hung-nung Yangs both had sixteen noblemen each — the highest number of noblemen for any Western Wei/Northern Chou clan; the Wei-ch'ih clan from Tai-chün had eight noblemen; the Tu-ku clan from Yün-chung had seven; and the Ssu-ma clan had four. The disparity in the number of noble titles held by each clan seems to indicate a wide disparity in their social standing.

Based on the analysis of the Western Wei/Northern Chou imperial distaff relatives and the official and noble titles they held, it is clear that the Yüan clan from Tai-chün/Ho-nan, namely the T'o-pa Wei imperial clan, continued to play a dominant role at this time. The fact that they were the only clan to have produced more than one Empress under the Western Wei/Northern Chou (and they produced three) only confirms their pre-eminent status. In their quest for power they were closely followed by the Yang clan from Hung-nung, another old, well-established

¹²⁴ Only members of the Yü clan from Ho-nan held more titles under the Western Wei/Northern Chou rule — sixteen in all. It should be remembered that due to the Chou system of linked titles, all recipients of military titles with Rank 1 automatically held official titles with the same rank, and vice versa. See Chapter 3 under the *Western Wei/ Northern Chou* heading for detail.

clan. Only after that did two new clans follow: the Wei-ch'ih clan from Tai-chün, and the Tu-ku clan from Yün-chung.

Three out of nine, or one third, of the Western Wei/Northern Chou Empresses came from clans established during the preceding T'o-pa Wei dynasty. In fact, all three came from one clan — the T'o-pa Wei ruling clan. Another third came from clans established prior to the division of China Proper into North and South: two from old Later Han clans, and one from the Chin imperial clan, which had already held ministerial positions in the Kingdom of Wei. The remaining third of the Western Wei/Northern Chou Empresses came from clans not established prior to this time.¹²⁵

The following chart illustrate the origins of the clans of all the Empresses of the Western Wei/Northern Chou period:

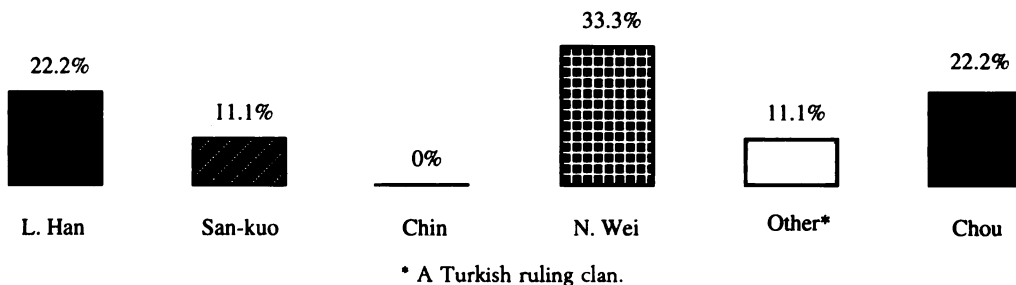


Chart 9: Origins of clans of Western Wei/Northern Chou Empresses

SUMMARY

We argued at the beginning of this chapter that intermarriage with the imperial clan could throw further light on the status of a clan, even though this status was primarily determined by other factors, such as official and noble titles. (These were not the only factors determining social status, but are the only ones we can measure using the sources at our disposal). Intermarriage was used by powerful clans to further their political influence and prestige.

Of particular interest is the proportion of old, established bureaucratic clans among imperial distaff relatives. Only the clans of principal wives — the Empresses — have been considered.¹²⁶ Secondary wives were usually taken into the harem on account of their beauty or special talent, or, in some cases, as hostages to punish their clans. Empresses Dowager were merely the lucky ones in the harem, who managed to produce an heir to the throne at the right time. Their title was in recognition of this service, and they often came from obscure or humble backgrounds. The mothers of dynasty founders, usually posthumously honored as Empresses, are also disregarded.

¹²⁵ Again, the A-shih-na clan is an exception.

¹²⁶ The one exception is the Kingdom of Wu during the Three Kingdoms period, as its dynastic history, the *Wu shu* in the *San-kuo chih*, refers to all the first wives of the Wu rulers as Consorts.

Our findings are summarized in the following table, which shows the number of Empresses, and the proportion of Empresses that belonged to old, established bureaucratic clans, dynasty by dynasty:

Dynasty	Empresses (#)	From established clans (#)	From established clans (%)	From new clans (#)	From new clans (%)
San-kuo Wei	8	—	0 %	8	100 %
San-kuo Shu	3	—	0 %	3	100 %
San-kuo Wu	5	—	0 %	5	100 %
Chin	15	10	67 %	5	33 %
Liu Sung	8	7	87.5 %	1	12.5 %
Southern Ch'i	7	6	86 %	1	14 %
Liang	3	2	67 %	1	33 %
Ch'en	5	4	80 %	1	20 %
T'o-pa Wei	24	—	0 %	24	100 %
Northern Ch'i	7	5	71 %	2	29 %
Northern Chou	9	6	67 %	3	33 % **

** The clan of Emperor Wu's Empress née A-shih-na is counted as a new clan, since it's members held no posts in Chinese bureaucracy prior to this time.

The proportion of old, established bureaucratic clans among imperial distaff relatives was very high at some times, and nonexistent at others. If we take the origin of Empresses as an indicator of social mobility, we must conclude that the Three Kingdoms period and the T'o-pa Wei dynasty were times of extraordinary mobility. This finding is not surprising. It was already suggested by the analysis of official and noble titles in Chapters 3 and 4. The findings of this chapter merely confirm it.

At other times, the proportion of old, established bureaucratic clans among imperial distaff relatives was generally higher than the proportion of such clans among either office-holders with Rank 1, or holders of noble titles. This should not be surprising. Placing a daughter on the throne as an Empress was the final stroke in establishing a clan's status, or conversely a recognition of its status. That pool of clans with personal access to the emperor would have been much smaller than the pool of potential office-holders and nobles.

We must recall, however, that although a large number of Empresses came from "old" clans, their clans were not necessarily very old. In the South, "old clans" were often those which had first appeared on the national scene during the Chin dynasty, or even later. In the North, "old clans" usually refers to clans that first emerged on the center stage under the T'o-pa Wei dynasty.

Truly great medieval clans whose "longevity", "stability", and "perennial importance" transcended the rule of individual dynasties should have produced Empresses

under more than one dynasty. In order to see which clans achieved this, we will list, dynasty by dynasty, all the "great medieval clans," identified in earlier chapters, who produced at least one Empress during the period under study. The following table shows their choronyms, and the number of Empresses they placed on the throne under each dynasty.

Clan	Choronym	Number of Empresses from great clans							
		S. K.	Chin	Sung	S. Ch'i	Liang	Ch'en	Wei	N. Ch'i Chou
CHANG	Fan-yang/ Cho	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
CHEN	Ying-ch'uan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
CHIA	P'ing-yang	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
CHIANG	Chi-yang	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
CH'U	Ho-nan	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-
CH'ÜAN	Wu-chün	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HO	Lu-chiang	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-
HSIAO	(Nan-) Lan-ling	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
HSIEH	Ch'en-chün	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
HSÜ	Tung-hai	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
HU	An-ting	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
HU	Huai-nan/ Ch'u	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
KAO	Po-hai	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
LI	Chao-chün	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
LIU	Ho-tung	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
LIU	P'eng-ch'eng	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
P'EI	Ho-tung	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
SHEN	Wu-hsing	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
SSU-MA	Ho-nei	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
TU	Ching-chao	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
WANG	Lang-ya	-	1	2	2	1	1	-	-
WANG	T'ai-yüan	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
WANG	Tung-hai	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
YANG	Hung-nung	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1
YANG	T'ai-shan	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
YÜ	Ying-ch'uan	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
YÜAN	Ch'en-chün	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
YÜAN	Ho-nan ¹²⁷	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
									3

¹²⁷. The Ho-nan Yüans listed in the T'o-pa Wei column were a branch of the T'o-pa Wei imperial clan. The ones in the Northern Ch'i and Northern Chou columns were descendants of the T'o-pa Wei imperial clan. They were originally from Tai-chün.

Twenty-eight of the great medieval clans produced at least one Empress between the collapse of the Later Han and the reunification of the Empire under the Sui. Yet our table shows that only seven of these clans managed to place an Empress on the throne under more than one dynasty. Most of the seven clans had Empresses under only two dynasties: the Chang clan from Fan-yang/Cho (with two Empresses of the Kingdom of Shu during the Three Kingdoms period, and one during the Southern Ch'i); the Ch'u clan from Ho-nan (with two Empresses during the Chin, and one during the Southern Ch'i); the Hu clan from An-ting (with two Empresses under both the T'o-pa Wei and the Eastern Wei/ Northern Ch'i);¹²⁸ the Yang clan from Hung-nung (with one Empresses under the Chin and one at the very end of the early medieval period, during the Western Wei/ Northern Chou);¹²⁹ and the Yüan clan from Ho-nan/Tai (with one Empress under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i and three under the Western Wei/Northern Chou).¹³⁰ One clan had Empresses under three (consecutive) dynasties — the Ho clan from Lu-chiang (with one Empress under the Chin, one under the Liu Sung and one under the Southern Ch'i).

Finally, only one clan had Empresses under more than three early medieval dynasties, and that, of course, was the Lang-ya Wang clan. The Lang-ya Wangs had at least one Empress under each of the Southern dynasties: one under the Chin, two under the Liu Sung, two under the Southern Ch'i, one under the Liang, and one under the Ch'en.¹³¹ Using the background of Empresses as a test has proven what other approaches have already shown in earlier chapters — namely, that the Lang-ya Wangs stood alone in terms of status and power. No other clan came even close to it, with the possible exception of the T'o-pa Wei ruling clan in the North.

We must conclude, however, that the Lang-ya Wangs notwithstanding, none of the early medieval clans managed to install a steady succession of its women on the various dynastic thrones. This indicates that the political fortunes of the established super-elite kept changing with times and circumstances, while its competition for the final seal of social status caused a great mobility at the pinnacle of power.

¹²⁸ The clan also had an Honored Concubine under the Chin, who gave birth to the first Chin Emperor, Wu, but she was never honored as an Empress. CS 32/948.

¹²⁹ Another clan woman was married to the uncle of the first Chin Emperor Wu, and became posthumously honored as Empress. CS 32/949. We should recall, however, that the later Yangs did not necessarily descend from the Hung-nung Yangs known during the Chin and earlier.

¹³⁰ The Tai-chün/Ho-nan Yüans were the T'o-pa Wei ruling house, so it is accurate to say that they had their clan members on the throne for three dynasties in a row — first as Emperors, later as Empresses.

¹³¹ One imperial concubine in the Kingdom of Wu during the Three Kingdoms period was mentioned in the *San-kuo chih* as "Consort." We should recall that she was the first Lang-ya Wang mentioned in historical sources, but that direct family ties between her and the later Lang-ya Wangs could not be established.

VI. Conclusion

This study attempted to challenge the now generally accepted view of China between the fall of the Later Han and the reunification by the Sui on the grounds that it derived from the questionable method of applying conclusions based on an analysis of T'ang society retroactively to the earlier period. Accordingly, it questioned the assumed "longevity", "stability", and "perennial importance" of the medieval elite, that had earned it the label "oligarchy." Despite the fact that certain clan names recur in the sources at various points during this period of almost four centuries, it seemed unlikely that in this era of great political instability with frequent changes in imperial authority the ruling elite could prevent the introduction of fresh blood into its circle.

By interfiling biographical information contained in dynastic histories of the period, I was able to identify clans that succeeded in playing a significant political role under more than one dynasty, and to observe that not all of these one hundred and sixteen "great medieval clans" remained prominent throughout the entire early medieval period. In fact, none of the powerful bureaucratic elite clans in the South had achieved their status during the Later Han dynasty. The longest-lasting clan in the South, the Ch'en-chün Yüans, emerged on the political scene only during the Three Kingdoms period. Mao Han-kuang's statement that "the two Han dynasties were a period of fermentation of the great families of medieval China," clearly does not apply to the southern elite.¹ The situation was somewhat different in the North. There, three clans that entered the bureaucratic elite under the Later Han retained their status until the very end of the early medieval period. They were: the Fan-yang Lus, the Po-ling Ts'uis, and the T'ai-shan Yangs. These three clans represent the super-elite whose entrenchment in the T'ang corridors of power annoyed new aspirants to high office in the early decades of the T'ang dynasty. But the endurance of these three clans was not typical of the entire early medieval elite.

A closer look at the genealogies of these three most enduring clans reveals that even they did not play an equally important role at all times before the T'ang. My study, although panoramic in scope, confirms the findings of Ebrey's detailed case study of the Po-ling Ts'uis. She concluded that the nature and power of the "aristocratic families" underwent considerable and almost constant change throughout the medieval period.² Her conclusion is doubtless at least as valid for the other one hundred and some clans in my study as it is for the Ts'uis.

This is further confirmed by a close examination of the backgrounds of the most important officials in the early medieval bureaucracy. An analysis of the backgrounds of all officials with Rank 1 revealed a marked difference between the North

¹ Mao Han-kuang, "Wo kuo chung-ku ta shih-tsu chih ku-an yen-chiu—Lang-yeh Wang," CYYY, 37 (1967), pp. 577-610, quoted by Grafflin, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

² Ebrey, *The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China*, pp. 116-119.

and the South.³ Mobility within the highest echelons of the civilian bureaucracy was very pronounced under the Northern dynasties, which is surprising because the great clans were more enduring in the North and are said to have provided the basis for the T'ang aristocracy. In the South, the top bureaucracy seemed to have been rather entrenched, but when we broke down the "old" clans according to the time when they first entered the central state bureaucracy, we discovered that in many cases "old" meant just one dynasty old. Over 72% of the Liu Sung "entrenched" civilian elite entered the state bureaucracy only under the immediately preceding Chin dynasty. The highest civilian offices were not monopolized by a "perennial" elite. Entry into the ruling class was possible under all the short-lived Southern Dynasties, and particularly under the last of them, the Ch'en. Only 17% of Ch'en civilian official posts with Rank 1 were held by members of old bureaucratic clans.⁴

The figures for military official posts with Rank 1 held by members of old bureaucratic clans were very similar.⁵ In the South, it was slightly easier for previously unestablished clans to attain the highest military posts than the civilian ones, with the exception of the Southern Ch'i dynasty. This should not be surprising, because unknown individuals with obscure backgrounds could gain merit in combat, and meritorious military service was usually rewarded with military titles. (Although we have noted that under the early medieval dynasties individuals often received both military and civilian titles with the same rank). In the North, however, it was easier for previously unestablished clans to attain high civilian posts.⁶ (Before the division into the Southern and Northern dynasties, the entrenched bureaucracy held fewer military posts than civilian posts with Rank 1).⁷

Mobility within the highest echelons of the military bureaucracy was high under the Northern dynasties. Under the Southern dynasties it seemed low, until the backgrounds of "old" clans were broken down according to the time when they first entered the central state bureaucracy. Many "old" military clans then turned out to be relatively young — almost 63% of the Liu Sung "entrenched" military

³ A relatively high number of civilian official posts with Rank 1 in the South were held by members of old bureaucratic clans. The figures were 73% for the Liu Sung dynasty; 40% for the Southern Ch'i; 50% for the Liang — in contrast to 8% of such offices that went to the old Chinese bureaucratic clans under the T'o-pa Wei, where a large number of the high posts went to the hereditary T'o-pa Wei aristocracy; 18% of the old, Chinese and non-Chinese, bureaucratic clans under the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i; and 32% under the Western Wei/Northern Chou. The figures for the period before the division into the Southern and Northern dynasties are as follows: 34% of the civilian official posts with Rank 1 awarded during the Three Kingdoms period and 41% of those awarded by the Chin were held by members of old bureaucratic clans.

⁴ The Ch'en dynasty emerged after military rebellions and a civil war as the only Southern dynasty where the entrenched elite was almost completely forced out of power. Only a small number of the elite survived the massacres, that more or less wiped out the famous "southern aristocracy."

⁵ In the South, 67% of all military posts with Rank 1 awarded by the Liu Sung dynasty, 50% of posts awarded by the Southern Ch'i, 20% of posts awarded by the Liang, and 9% of posts awarded by the Ch'en went to the old bureaucratic elite.

⁶ But with figures of 14% for the T'o-pa Wei (the figures are unusually low for the T'o-pa Wei dynasty because a large number of high posts went to the hereditary T'o-pa aristocracy), 20% for the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i, and 32% for the Western Wei/Northern Chou military posts that went to the entrenched bureaucratic elite, the difference in accessibility of civilian and military offices with Rank 1 was negligible.

⁷ The figures were 28% of posts awarded during the Three Kingdoms period, and 37% of those awarded by the Chin.

elite entered the bureaucracy only under the immediately preceding Chin dynasty. The highest military offices were not monopolized by a "perennial" elite.

I tabulated all the clans that held civilian and military offices with Rank 1 under more than one dynasty, and the tables showed that the highest echelons of bureaucracy were not occupied by a steady flow of appointees from the same clans. Only the Lang-ya Wangs and the T'ai-yüan Wangs managed to hold at least one office with Rank 1 under more than two successive dynasties. These were exceptions: early medieval China was not ruled by an oligarchy.

Most historians of the society of early medieval China have attributed the assumed lack of social mobility during this period to the introduction of the Nine Rank System of Just Arbitration (*chiu-pin chung-cheng*). The system is said to have institutionalized the privilege of access to the state bureaucracy. We have identified all the individuals who are recorded to have held the office of Arbiter during the early medieval period, and we discovered that in the South a high percentage of them belonged to entrenched bureaucratic clans. The ability of the entrenched bureaucratic clans to hold the office of Arbiter increased with each Southern Dynasty.⁸ However, the ratios for the old bureaucratic elite's share of the Arbiter posts were almost opposite to the ratios for their participation in the highest levels of the state bureaucracy.⁹ When we identified all clans who produced both Arbiters and office-holders with Rank 1 during the early medieval period, we discovered that the entrenched Southern clans were, generally, not able to translate their holding of the office of Arbiter into direct control of the highest echelons of the state bureaucracy. (Almost every dynasty had its exceptions: the Wu-chün Lus during the Chin, the Ch'en-chün Yüans during the Liang, and the Lang-ya Wangs under several dynasties. Once again, such cases were exceptions, not the rule).

In the North, however, the situation was quite different. The entrenched bureaucratic clans were rather successfully kept out of the office of Arbiter.¹⁰ The ones who did hold Arbiter posts were more likely to translate them into high-ranking positions in the bureaucracy. In the North, more than in the South, the office of Arbiter served as a stepping-stone to high office. Yet it was not the only, nor the surest path to the top of the Northern bureaucratic elite: the Ho-tung P'ei clan held eight Arbiter appointments, yet not a single office with Rank 1 under the T'o-pa Wei.

Holding the office of Arbiter did not automatically ensure a spot in the national power structure for a clan. Rather, Arbiter appointments acknowledged the superior local standing of an individual or his clan. In most cases, Arbiters were appointed to their local commanderies, where the appointment served to increase

⁸ Old bureaucratic clans held 37% of all Arbiter posts recorded for the Chin period, 58% of the Liu Sung posts, 68% of the Southern Ch'i posts, 75% of the Liang posts, and 94% of the Ch'en posts.

⁹ The most drastic contrast can be seen under the Ch'en dynasty. Although 94% of all recorded Arbiter appointments went to the entrenched elite, only 17% of the highest civilian appointments and 9% of the highest military appointments were held by this group.

¹⁰ Only 28% of the T'o-pa Wei recorded Arbiters belonged to the entrenched elite; the numbers were 20% for the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i, and 38.5% for Western Wei/Northern Chou.

their local prestige. But they were probably more effective in introducing new people of their choice into the local bureaucracy than in turning their own clan members into oligarchs on the national scale.

I tabulated all the clans that held Arbiter appointments under more than one dynasty and noticed that, in most cases, they occupied Arbiter posts intermittently. With some exceptions, the posts were not occupied by a steady flow of appointees from the same clans. The clans who did best were the Ch'en-chün Yüans, who held at least one Arbiter post under each early medieval dynasty in both the North and the South, for a total of nine appointments; the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis with fifteen appointments, mostly in the North; and the Lang-ya Wangs with sixteen appointments in the South. But only the Lang-ya Wangs were able to translate the Arbiter office into power on national level. Once again, they were an exception, not the rule.

The importance of the Nine Rank System as an institutionalized guarantee for a monopoly on political power has been vastly overestimated. Even if it had been designed for such a purpose, the Nine Rank System did not manage to eliminate court and army factions from the competition for power, nor to freeze the structure of the early medieval society in China and to carry it over, unchanged, into the T'ang dynasty.

The same can be said of the noble titles — the only inheritable aspect of social status in early medieval China. They were awarded for special merit in the service of the throne, and were inherited within a dynasty. As a rule, noble titles and their corresponding fiefs were abolished by the succeeding dynasty, although some early medieval dynasties did recognize titles awarded by the dynasties that preceded them, which gave such noble title-holders the status of a "hereditary aristocracy" in true sense of the word. The Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i court, for instance, recognized many T'o-pa Wei titles and reduced them in rank by one degree. The Western Wei/Northern Chou did not recognize the T'o-pa Wei titles, but its own noble titles were recognized by the Sui dynasty, which usually raised their rank by one degree. Many of them were even taken over by the T'ang dynasty. The T'o-pa Wei dynasty was founded by the traditional Hsien-pei aristocracy, and some of its practices and attitudes were inherited by all the Northern dynasties, the Sui and the T'ang. Some future study may be able to determine the role this "institutionalized hereditary aristocracy" played in the formation of T'ang society and its social attitudes. It may well be that some of the currently accepted views on the "aristocratic nature" of medieval society originated with the Northern tribal elite, became firmly institutionalized by the T'ang, and are now retroactively transposed onto the entire early medieval society.

As a rule, however, early medieval dynasties did not recognize noble titles granted by their predecessors. More commonly, clans that received titles from several dynasties held different fiefs, and did not even hold the same noble rank under each dynasty. Of the ninety-seven clans who held noble titles under more than one dynasty, very few retained noble status over several dynasties. Two clans, the Hontung P'eis and the T'ai-yüan Wangs, retained noble status for the whole duration

of the early medieval period, beginning with enfeoffments during the Three Kingdoms period, and holding noble titles under the Chin and all the Northern Dynasties. The Lang-ya Wang clan, which also received its first noble titles during the Three Kingdoms period, did not hold any titles under the last Southern Dynasty, the Ch'en.¹¹ The Lang-ya Wangs, however, held more noble titles than any other clan, and in terms of noble titles, as with other measures of social status, they stood quite apart from typical early medieval clans.

Less than one third of all the clans who held noble titles at any given time belonged to the entrenched bureaucratic elite of the time.¹² Noble titles were chiefly used to reward and promote the deserving, and to give status to newcomers to the elite.

Finally, we examined the origins of all the early medieval Empresses. Marriage was one of the most important measures of social status, and marriage into the imperial family was always a sure sign that a clan had arrived at the apex of political power. Indeed, the proportion of the entrenched elite among imperial distaff relatives was generally higher than the proportion of this elite among either office-holders with Rank 1, or holders of noble titles. The pool of clans vying for this ultimate recognition was much smaller than the pool of potential office-holders and noblemen.

Although a large number of Empresses belonged to the entrenched elite, many of the "old" distaff clans in the South first emerged on the national scene during the Chin dynasty, while most of the "old clans" in the North entered the elite under the T'o-pa Wei dynasty.¹³

If truly great medieval clans had been able to monopolize political power during the early medieval period, they should also have been able to produce Empresses under more than one dynasty. Our study shows that twenty-nine distaff clans belonged to our group of "great medieval clans," but only seven of them managed to place an Empress on the throne under more than one dynasty. Only two clans supplied Empresses for more than two consecutive dynasties: the Lu-chiang Hos (with one under the Chin, one under the Liu Sung, and one under the Southern Ch'i), and the Lang-ya Wangs who had at least one Empress under each of the Southern Dynasties (one under the Chin, two under the Liu Sung, two under the Southern Ch'i, one under the Liang, and one under the Ch'en; one Consort née Wang from Lang-ya in the Kingdom of Wu during the Three Kingdoms period was probably the first Lang-ya Wang clan member to gain national prominence, but our sources do not allow us to connect her directly to the later Wangs).

¹¹ Three younger brothers of an Empress née Wang from Lang-ya in the Kingdom of Wu during the Three Kingdoms period received noble titles because of her position. The sources do not allow us to connect them directly to the later Wangs, but we assume that they belonged to the same clan.

¹² The numbers were: 8% for the Three Kingdoms period; 28% for the Chin; 27% for the Liu Sung; 28% for the Southern Ch'i; 32% for the Liang; 32.5% for the Ch'en; 8.5% for the T'o-pa Wei; 19.5% for the Eastern Wei/Northern Ch'i; and 25% for the Western Wei/Northern Chou. The numbers are higher if one counts individual noblemen, because the entrenched bureaucratic elite held more titles per clan than their less established contemporaries.

¹³ Most of the T'o-pa Wei Empresses belonged to the old tribal aristocracy. None came from the entrenched Chinese bureaucratic clans.

The analysis of the background of early medieval Empresses confirmed what my other approaches had shown: the Lang-ya Wangs stood alone as a great medieval clan *par excellence*, and no other clan came near them in terms of status, power and endurance. Had the Lang-ya Wangs been joined by other clans, we could speak of a "medieval oligarchy." But our study shows that although other clans vied for power, they managed to wrest it for only limited periods of time.

We cannot, of course, speak of rampant social mobility in a society that officially recognized class distinctions, but neither can we accept the assertion that the composition of the ruling class remained unchanged during the entire early medieval period or that China was ruled by an oligarchy. When we see old Han and Chin clan names in the lists of the T'ang elite, it does not mean that their bearers had enjoyed a monopoly on power throughout the intervening centuries.¹⁴ The T'ang ruling class drew heavily on the traditional T'o-pa aristocracy, which had given itself credibility as the ruler of China by a policy of acculturation and assimilation, conferral of Chinese clan names on the Hsien-pei elite, and the frequent falsification of clan genealogies.¹⁵ The T'o-pa ruling house gave itself a genealogy that connected it directly with the mythical Yellow Emperor. The rulers of the Western Wei/Northern Chou, who belonged to another Hsien-pei clan, the Yü-wen, claimed descent from another Chinese mythical figure, Emperor Shen-nung. It should not be surprising that the new Sino-barbarian hybrid upper classes of the T'ang looked back to the earlier periods of Chinese history when seeking to prove their "aristocratic Chinese ancestry" and justifying their political role. But this does not mean that a modern-day historian should take such claims at face value and perpetuate their fallacy without engaging in a thorough investigation of the "longevity", "stability", and "perennial importance" of the medieval elite.

¹⁴ Dennis Grafflin came to the same conclusion based in his detailed study of four great Southern clans in "The Great Family in Medieval China," *op. cit.*, p. 74.

¹⁵ For specific cases of falsifications see Jennifer Holmgren, "Lineage Falsification in the Northern Dynasties: Wei Shou's Ancestry," *Papers on Far Eastern History*, XXI, 1980. David Johnson seems not to question the claimed ancestry of the Chao-chün Lis in the *Pei shih*. That genealogy jumps from an ancestor Li Mu (Ch'in times), and Li Tso-chü (Han times) to a fourteenth-generation descendant Li Hui. Johnson, "The Last Years of a Great Clan: the Li Family of Chao-chün in Late T'ang and Early Sung," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 37.1 (June 1977), pp. 8-9.

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Notes on the *Shui ching*

by

Hans Bielenstein

The *Shui ching* or *River Classic* is a short text which today numbers only a little over 8000 characters. A commentary to it by Kuo P'u (276–324) in 3 chapters (*chüan*) was preserved until Sui times¹ but then lost. We still have the lengthy commentary by Li Tao-yüan (d. A.D.527) of more than 336,000 characters. The *Shui ching* and the commentary of Li Tao-yüan were early combined into a single work, called the *Shui ching chu* or *River Classic and Commentary*, divided into 40 chapters. The *Ch'ung-wen tsung-mu*, compiled between 1034 and 1038 by Wang Yao-ch'en (1001–1056) and others states that five of these chapters had been lost by that time. However, the present work still consists of 40 chapters. The *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu* is right in assuming that when the *Shui ching* was printed in 1087, the editors divided some of the surviving 35 chapters to make up the original number.² As will be seen below, parts of the work are, in fact, missing.

Furthermore, the 1087 edition often erroneously intermingled the *Shui ching* with its *Commentary* so that they became indistinguishable from each other. This serious error was remedied and the two texts were sorted out again by the three eminent Ch'ing scholars Ch'üan Tsu-wang (1705–1755), Chai Yi-ch'ing (1710?–1764?), and Tai Chen (1724–1777).³ The best modern edition, and the one used here, is by Wang Hsien-ch'ien (1842–1917), Ch'ang-sha 1892. He reproduces the reconstituted *Shui ching chu* with his own voluminous notes. An excellent index to that work has been prepared by Cheng Te-k'un.⁴

The authorship of the *Shui ching* and the time of its compilation have been much debated. A claim that the work was written by Sang Ch'in is patently absurd. It was first made in T'ang times by the *T'ang liu-tien*. Sang Ch'in is a historical person who lived during the reign of Emperor Ch'eng (32–7 B.C.) at the end of Former Han. He is several times referred to in the *Treatise on Administrative Geography* (*ti-li chih*) of the *Ch'ien Han shu* as an expert on rivers, but there is no mention that he wrote a book. Furthermore, the *Shui ching* has entries datable to well beyond the Former Han, so that Sang Ch'in in no way can be the compiler. Others have proposed the above-mentioned Kuo P'u as the author, confusing his commentary with the work itself. Still others have tried to resolve the chronological con-

¹ See *Pa-shih ching-chi chih*, 1883, Sui 2:22a.

² See *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu*, 200 *chüan*, Ta-t'ung shu-ch'ü edition, Shanghai 1926, 69:1a.

³ See Hu Shih, "A Note on Ch'üan Tsu-wang, Chao I-ch'ing and Tai Chen. A Study of Independent Convergence in Research as Illustrated in Their Works on the *Shui-ching chu*". In Arthur W. Hummel ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (1644–1912, vol. II, Washington 1944, pp. 970–982.

⁴ *Shui ching chu yin-te*, published by the Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, No. 17, 2 vols., 1934.

traditions by concluding that this is not the work of a single man but that it was expanded over a period of time.⁵ Hu Shih believes that the *Shui ching* was written by an unknown author before A.D.265.⁶

The questions before us, therefore, are three:

1. When was the *Shui ching* compiled?
2. Where was it compiled?
3. Was there more than one author?

A careful study of the *Shui ching* should provide the answers. The text is a hydrography of China, tersely describing the courses of major, minor, and occasionally even very small rivers and canals. Only one larger lake is mentioned, the Tung-t'ing Lake in Central China, and that one not by name but simply as "the lake" (38:3a). I translate as an example the section devoted to the Lo River (15:1a-15b):

"The Lo river Emanates from Huan-chü Mountain of Shang-lo prefecture of *Ching-chao*.
Northeastward it passes south of Lu-shih prefecture.
Furthermore, northeastward it passes south of Li-ch'eng Town.
Furthermore, it eastward passes south of Yang-shih Town.
Furthermore, it northeastward passes south of Yü-fu Town.
Furthermore, it northeastward passes south of Yi-yang prefecture.
Furthermore, it northeastward comes out of the San Pass.
Furthermore, it northeastward passes south of Ho-nan prefecture.
Furthermore, it eastward passes south of Lo-yang prefecture.
The Yi River comes from the west and flows into it.
Furthermore, it eastward passes south of Yen-shih prefecture.
Furthermore it northeastward passes east of Kung prefecture.
Furthermore, it northward enters the [Yellow] River."

For each river, the *Shui ching* identifies the source, usually a mountain, in relation to the nearest prefecture (*hsien*). Next, it describes the course of the river by saying that it flowed in those and those cardinal directions, and passed north, south, east, or west (or divisions thereof), of those-and-those prefectures, towns (*yi*), or cities (*ch'eng*). It mentions names of tributaries and where these entered. Finally, it describes how the river flowed into the sea or another current. Often, but not always, the tributaries are later described in their own right. Notable omissions are the T'ao and Hu-t'o Rivers. The former is simply stated to have entered the [Yellow] River from the southeast (2:21b). The latter is said to have united with the Cho-chang River (10:28a). In neither case is anything recorded about the upper courses.

⁵ See Cheng Te-k'un, *op.cit.*, p. 1.

⁶ See Hummel, *op.cit.*, p. 970.

When two rivers unite, it is not always easy to decide which is the major one and which the tributary. Here, the *Shui ching* differs at times from modern cartographers. For instance, the upper course of the Chien-chiang River in Che-chiang⁷, as given in the *Shui ching* (40:1a), is what we now consider to be a northern tributary. The most striking difference in outlook concerns the upper course of the Yangtze (Chiang shui). We consider that its source is on the Tibetan Plateau. The *Shui ching* places it on the southern slope of the Ch'in Mountain Range (Ch'in-ling). It thereby makes the river which we now call the Min, and which traverses Ssu-ch'uan from north to south, into the upper course of the Yangtze and instead considers the little it knows about the real upper course of the Yangtze as a tributary.

Another difference in outlook concerns the meeting and dividing of rivers. The *Shui-ching* clings to the idiosyncrasy that when one river has debouched into another it might flow jointly with it for a while and then again break away. For example, the Chi River is stated to have entered the [Yellow] River north of Kung prefecture⁸ (7:6a). It is then said to have run jointly with it, until further eastward it resumed its independent course (7:7a). We would hold that the Chi River lost its existence at Kung prefecture and that further eastward the Yellow River divided into two arms.

Finally, the *Shui ching* at times abbreviates its description of the lower course of a river. It will say that river X enters into the sea, whereas it in fact enters river Y which then enters into the sea.⁹

Due to its method of identification, a great many place names are mentioned by the *Shui ching*. Since the Chinese government was in the habit of changing the names of prefectures (*hsien*) and of commanderies (*chün*), and of moving prefectures from one commandery to another, such names offer an important source for dating.

As a first step, I list below all information pertaining to the Former (202 B.C.-A.D.9) and Later Han (25-220) dynasties, starting with the entries of the *Shui ching* and then adding my own comments¹⁰:

1. Ho-kuan prefecture of Lung-hsi commandery (2:21a). This information is for *Later Han*. During Former Han, Ho-kuan belonged to Chin-ch'eng commandery (HHS *chih* 12A:28a)¹¹.

2. Yung-shih prefecture of T'ien-shui commandery (2:46b). This information is for *Former* or part of *Later Han*. The name of T'ien-shui commandery was in A.D.74 changed to Han-yang (HHS *chih* 23A:29a).

⁷ Now the Ch'ien-t'ang River.

⁸ Situated SW of the present *hsien* with the same name, Ho-nan.

⁹ See the Sheng River (12:5b), Chü-ma River (12:9b), Pao-ch'iu River (14:10b), and Chen River (38:26b). In addition, the Fen River is stated to have entered the Mien (Han) River, whereas it flowed into the Chu River which then entered the Mien (29:19b).

¹⁰ No distinction will be made between commanderies and kingdoms, and the term "commandery" will be used throughout.

¹¹ *Hou Han shu chi-chieh* edition (henceforth quoted as HHS) by Wang Hsien-ch'ien, Ch'ang-sha 1923.

3. Chen-ling prefecture of Yün-chung commandery (3:11b). This information is for *Former Han*. During Later Han, the prefecture was called Chi-ling (HHS *chih* 23B:9a).

4. Wei prefecture (of Tung commandery)¹² (5:30a). This information is for *Later Han*. The Later Han changed the name of P'an-kuan prefecture to Wei not later than A.D.37 (HHS *chih* 21:6b).

5. Yang-hsü prefecture (of P'ing-yüan commandery) (5:42b). This information is for *Former Han*. The unit was abolished during Later Han (HS 28A2:69b)¹³.

6. Fen-yang prefecture of T'ai-yüan commandery (6:1a). This information is for *Former Han*. The unit was abolished during Later Han.

7. Yung-an prefecture of Ho-tung commandery (6:10a) This information is for *Later Han*. The name of Chih prefecture was in A.D.134 changed to Yung-an (HHS *chih* 19:17b).

8. Chiang prefecture of Ho-tung commandery (6:19a). This information is for *Former* or part of *Later Han*. The Later Han change the name of Chiang prefecture to Chiang-yi (HHS *chih* 19:17b).

9. Tso-yi prefecture (of Ho-tung commandery) (6:25a). This information is for *Former* or part of *Later Han*. The unit was abolished during Later Han¹⁴.

10. Shou-chang prefecture (of Tung-p'ing commandery) (8:7a; 24:29b). This information is for *Later Han*. Emperor Kuang-wu (r. 25–57) changed the name of Shou-liang prefecture¹⁵ to Shou-chang (HHS *chih* 21:7b).

11. Ku-ch'eng prefecture (of Tung commandery) (8:9b). This information is for *Later Han* (HHS *chih* 21:7a). The unit did not exist during Former Han.

12. Lin-chi prefecture (of Lo-an commandery) (8:19a). This information is for *Later Han*. The name of Ti prefecture was changed to Lin-chi in A.D.108 (HHS *chih* 22:4b).

13. Chin-hsiang prefecture (of Shan-yang commandery) (8:25a). This information is for *Later Han*. The unit did not exist during Former Han.

14. Hu-lu prefecture (of Shan-yang commandery) 8:29b). This information is for *Later Han*. The name of Hu-ling prefecture was changed to Hu-lu in A.D.84 (HHS *chih* 21:12b).

15. Nieh prefecture of Shang-tang commandery (9:9a). This information is for *Later Han*. The Later Han changed the name of Nieh-shih prefecture to Nieh (HHS *chih* 23B:1b).

16. Yi-shih prefecture (of Shang-tang commandery) (9:9a). This information is for *Former* or part of *Later Han*. The Later Han changed the name of Yi-shih

¹² Information in parenthesis is provided by me.

¹³ *Ch'ien Han shu pu-chu* edition (henceforth quoted as HS) by Wang Hsien-ch'ien, Ch'ang-sha 1900. The name is there miswritten Lou-hsü.

Note that Emperor Kuang-wu, founder of Later Han, in A.D.30 ordered the abolishment of more than 400 prefectures. See my *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty*, vol. III, *The People, Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, no. 39, Stockholm 1967, pp. 141 ff.

¹⁴ Since Tso-yi is not listed in the administrative survey for A.D.140 in HHS, it must have been abolished before that date.

¹⁵ It belonged during Former Han to Tung commandery.



prefecture (with radical 170) to Yi-shih (with radical 94) (HHS *chih* 23B:2b).

17. Lung-lü prefecture of Ho-nei commandery (9:19a). This information is for *Former* or part of *Later Han*. The Later Han changed the name of Lung-lü to Lin-lü to avoid the tabooed personal name of Emperor Shang (r. 106–107) (HHS *chih* 19:14b).

18. Kuang-tsung prefecture (of Chü-lu commandery) (9:27a). This information is for *Later Han*. The unit did not exist during Former Han.

19. Lo-ch'eng-ling prefecture¹⁶ (of Ho-chien commandery) (10:29b). This information is for *Later Han*. Emperor Huan (r. 147–167) changed the name of Lo-ch'eng prefecture to Lo-ling (HHS *chih* 20:27b–28a).

20. She prefecture (of Wei commandery) (10:35b). This information is for *Later Han*. The Later Han changed the name of Sha prefecture late in the dynasty to Sha. In the administrative survey for A.D.140, it is still listed as Sha (HHS *chih* 20:20b).

21. Jung-ch'eng prefecture (of Cho commandery) (11:3a). This information is for *Former Han*. The unit was abolished during Later Han.

22. Ling-ch'iu prefecture of Tai commandery (11:12a). This information is for *Former Han*. The unit was abolished during Later Han.

23. An-hsi prefecture (of Chung-shan commandery) (11:21a). This information is for *Later Han*. Emperor Chang (r. 76–88) changed the name of An-hsien prefecture to An-hsi (HHS *chih* 20:25a).

24. Po-ling prefecture (of Chung-shan commandery) (11:22a). This information is for *Later Han*. The unit was established in A.D.147 (HHS 10B:5b).

25. Yang-hsiang prefecture (of Cho commandery) (12:2b). This information is for *Former Han*. The unit was abolished during Later Han.

26. Lu prefecture (of Yü-yang commandery) (14:8b). This information is for *Later Han*. The Later Han changed the name of Lu prefecture (without radical 85) to Lu (with radical 85) (HHS *chih* 23B:17a).

27. Liao-tui prefecture (of Liao-tung commandery) (14:29b). This information is for *Former Han*. The unit was abolished during Later Han.

28. Shang-lo prefecture of Ching-chao [-yin] (15:1a;20:21a). This information is for *Later Han*. During Former Han, Shang-lo belonged to Hung-nung commandery (HS 28A1:44b).

29. Hsin-ch'eng prefecture (of Ho-nan-yin) (15:21a). This information is for *Later Han*. During Former Han, the prefecture was called Hsin-ch'eng (without radical 32) (HS 28A1:73a).

30. Ku-ch'eng prefecture of Honan [-yin] (15:25b). This information is for *Later Han*. During Former Han, the prefecture was called Ku-ch'eng (without radical 32) (HS 28A1:72a).

31. Chih-lu prefecture of Pei-ti commandery (16:31a). This information is for *Former Han*. The unit was abolished during Later Han.

32. Ching-yang prefecture of An-ting commandery (19:43a). The information

¹⁶ This is a combination of the Former and Later Han names.

is for *Former Han*. The unit was abolished during Later Han.

33. Chia prefecture of Ying-ch'uan commandery (21:5a). This information is for *Former Han*. The unit was abolished during Later Han.

34. Yüan-lu prefecture (of Ju-nan commandery) (21:18a). This information is for *Later Han* (HHS *chih* 20:10b). The unit did not exist during Former Han.

35. Hua prefecture of T'ai-shan commandery (24:19a). This information is for *Former Han*. The unit was abolished during Later Han.

36. Kao-p'ing prefecture (of Shan-yang commandery) (25:9a). This information is for *Later Han*. Emperor Chang (r. 76–88) changed the name of T'o prefecture to Kao-p'ing (HHS *chih* 21:12b).

37. Hu-lu prefecture (of Shan-yang commandery) (25:11a). This information is for *Later Han*. Emperor Chang (r. 76–88) changed the name of Hu-ling prefecture to Hu-lu (HHS *chih* 21:12b).

38. Chi prefecture of Lang ya commandery (26:27a). This information is for *Former Han*. The unit was abolished during Later Han.

39. P'ing-ch'un prefecture of Chiang-hsia commandery (30:2a;32:1a). This information is for *Later Han*. The unit did not exist during Former Han.

40. An-feng prefecture of Lu-chiang commandery (30:8b). This information is for *Later Han*. The unit belonged during Former Han to Liu-an commandery (HS 28B2:42a).

41. Ting-ying prefecture (of Ju-nan commandery) (31:21a). This information is for *Later Han*. The unit was established in A.D.108 (HHS *chih* 20:10b).

42. Liu prefecture (of Liu-an commandery) (32:5a). This information is for *Former Han*. The Later Han changed the name of Liu prefecture to Liu-an and placed it in Lu-chiang commandery (HHS *chih* 22:43a).

43. Po-hsiang prefecture¹⁷ (of Chiu-chiang commandery) (32:5b). This information is for *Former Han*. The unit was abolished during Later Han.

44. Ts'un-ma prefecture of Chien-wei commandery (36:12b). This information is for *Former Han*. The unit was abolished by Later Han.

45. Tso-t'ang prefecture (of Wu-ling commandery) (37:16a). This information is for *Later Han*. The unit was established during Later Han (HHS *chih* 22:32a).¹⁸

46. Ch'ung-an prefecture (of Ling-ling commandery) (38:8a). This information is for *Later Han*. The name of Chung-wu prefecture was changed to Ch'ung-an in A.D.128 (HHS *chih* 22:27b).

The chronological contradictions among the above forty-six cases could militate against a homogeneous work by a single author. A grammatical and stylistic study of the text brings out further discrepancies.

To describe the current of a river, the *Shui ching* may say that it passes e.g. "north of a point of reference". This is normally expressed as follows: verb — name

¹⁷ The text writes Po-an but clearly means Po-hsiang. See *Shui ching chu* 32:5b, commentary.

¹⁸ See also Li Tao-yüan's commentary to the *Shui ching* (37:16a).

of point of reference — direction. The point of reference, usually a prefecture, is a genitive attribute to the direction. In the vast majority of cases, the particle *chih* which indicates the attribute, and as such is placed between the point of reference and the direction, is understood, i.e. omitted. But in thirteen cases it is written out.¹⁹

In contrast to its normal usage, the text in four instances does not write e.g. "north of a point of reference" but "to the north of a point of reference", adding the preposition *tang*.²⁰

To describe the source of a river, the *Shui ching* normally writes that river so-and-so emanates from there-and-there. The verb "to emanate" (*ch'u*) is here transitive, with the site of the source as its accusative object, i.e. "*ch'u* X". But in five cases, the text inserts the preposition "from" (*tzu*) between the *ch'u* and the object, i.e. "*ch'u tzu* X".²¹

When a river enters into another, the text normally gives the name of the latter without adding the character for "river" (*shui* or *ho*), but it does so in five instances.²²

The normal term for "to flow" is *liu*. However, once the *Shui ching* writes "to travel" (*hsing*)²³, and once "to traverse" (*li*).²⁴

But does the above combined evidence justify the conclusion that the *Shui ching* is by more than one author? I think not.

It is, to begin with, hard to believe that such a slender text could gradually have grown in size through additions by later authors.

Secondly, the grammatical and stylistic divergences do not need to enforce that conclusion. Departures from the standard language of the text are, with one exception, scattered all over the book. For instance, sentences with the particle *chih* are regularly placed between sentences without it. The same is true for the use of the preposition *tang*. Only in the case of the preposition *tzu*, its use is restricted to chapters 27 and 28. These chapters are devoted to the Mien River, more commonly known as the Han. The source of the river is described in the standard fashion, i.e. verb — object (*ch'u* X). Then follow accounts for the Ts'en, Tu, Chu, Wei, and Yi tributaries, where the *tzu* particle is used (*ch'u tzu* X). For the Ch'ien River, described immediately after the Mien (or Han), the standard formula *ch'u* X is again employed.

Remembering that the *Shui-ching* is an ancient text which has undergone major revisions²⁵, these few grammatical and stylistic discrepancies, and even the clustering of the use of *tzu*, can be more easily explained as the carelessness of editors than as the modes of expression of different authors.

¹⁹ 6:40b; 6:41a; 10:27a; 22:23b; 29:17b; 31:1a; 34:4a; 35:15a; 38:2a; 39:5a; 39:5b; 39:7b; 39:8a.

²⁰ 6:41a; 24:7b; 29:18a; 35:1a.

²¹ 27:8b; 28:1a, 5a, 14b (in this case, the *ch'u* is understood), 17a.

²² 8:28b; 22:23b; 37:1b; 38:20b; 39:1b.

²³ 36:1b.

²⁴ 37:14b.

²⁵ Note that the text also contains some corrupt passages, e.g. 6:38b; 24:19a; 29:3b, 11b; 33:15b.

Thirdly, the forty-six apparent chronological contradictions listed above do not break down into any discernable pattern, but the entries apply helter-skelter to sometimes Former and sometimes Later Han. This does not support the theory of different authors. Instead, the evidence points to a very simple solution. It stands to reason that no man could have written the *Shui ching* from personal observation, since no man could have surveyed all the rivers of China alone. The author must therefore have based his description on maps (or occasionally accounts of maps), and these maps were from different periods. With this conclusion, the multiple authorship of the *Shui ching* becomes irrelevant.

Maps were drawn in China from very early times, certainly well before the Former Han dynasty. Among literary references to maps during Han, a famous one concerns Hsiao Ho, the chief civilian adviser of Liu Pang (future Emperor Kao). When Liu Pang entered the Ch'in capital of Hsien-yang in 207 B.C., Hsiao Ho went into the archives and secured the maps and records (HS 1A:20a). In A.D.24, Liu Hsiu (future Emperor Kuang-wu) studied a map or maps of the commanderies and kingdoms (HHS biography 6:2a)²⁶.

As luck will have it, genuine Han maps have actually been unearthed. Tomb no.3 of Ma-wang tui, near Ch'ang-sha in Hu-nan province, was constructed for a man who died in 168 B.C. Among the many objects placed in his tomb are two maps. One of these is a topographical map of what now is southern Hu-nan and adjoining parts of Kuang-tung, showing rivers, mountains, and towns. It is painted on silk and measures 96×96 cm. A colour photograph of that map was published in 1975²⁷. Two archaeological reports were published at the same time.²⁸ A. Gut-kind Bulling has given an excellent account in English.²⁹ References below will be to her article.

The Ma-wang tui map is oriented with south at the top and north at the bottom, i.e. it is from the Western point of view upside down.³⁰ I reproduce that map turned around, so that north is at the top, showing the rivers and prefectural cities but omitting the mountains (Map 1). This ancient map should be compared with a modern map of the same area (Map 2), so that we may judge the accuracy of the former. Again, I omit the mountains and this time also the rivers north of the watershed (about which more below). It can be seen at a glance that the area south of the watershed is badly misdrawn. The north-south dimensions have been compressed to about one half, the Pearl River delta has been moved too far to the west, the bay (marked in black) is misshapen, and the river courses, though barely identifiable, are incorrectly presented.

²⁶ See my *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty*, vol. II, *The Civil War*, *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, no. 31, Stockholm 1959, p. 71.

²⁷ *China*, no. 9, 1975, pp. 34-35.

²⁸ "Ch'ang-sha Ma-wang tui san-hao Han mu ch'u ti-t'u ti cheng-li" by the Study Team for the Han Silk Manuscripts from Ma-wang tui, *Wen-wu* 1975, no. 2, pp. 35-42.

T'an Ch'i-hsiang, "Erh-ch'ien-yi-pai to nien ch'ien ti yi fu ti-t'u", *ibid.*, pp. 43-48.

²⁹ "Ancient Chinese Maps. Two Maps discovered in a Han Dynasty Tomb from the Second Century B.C.", *Expedition. The University Museum Magazine for Archaeology and Anthropology*, vol. 20, 1978, pp. 16-25.

³⁰ See Bulling, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

Let us now compare the part of the ancient map (Map 1) concerned with southern Hu-nan north of the watershed with a corresponding modern map, again omitting the mountains (Map 3).³¹ The topography of the area under discussion is such that the river courses will have changed very little in the last two millennia. This time, the accord is quite close. While the central river system on the ancient map is twisted northward in the upstream region, the various rivers are easily identifiable, and the locations of the prefectural cities are roughly correct in their relations to each other.

The reason for the fairly high accuracy of the map north of the watershed and the poor accuracy south of it is not difficult to discern. What is now Hu-nan was from 202 to 157 B.C. a vassal kingdom of the Former Han, ruled by the Wu family. South of it was the independent and hostile state of Nan-yüeh which was not conquered by China until 112–111 B.C. The situation in 168 B.C. was consequently that Chinese surveyors could draw an adequate map of southern Hu-nan, but were not able to do so for Nan-yüeh.³²

It was maps of the Ma-wang tui kind, then, on which the author of the *Shui ching* based his text. We can now go back to the forty-six entries above (referred to by their numbers below) and sort them out, commandery by commandery, into maps from different periods. In that process, all apparent chronological contradictions disappear.

Former Han maps:

Yün-chung (3)
P'ing-yüan (5)
T'ai-yüan (6)
Cho (21, 25)
Tai (22)
Liao-tung (27)
Pei-ti (31)
An-ting (32)
Ying-ch'uan (33)
T'ai-shan (35)
Lang-ya (38)
Liu-an (42)
Chiu-chiang (43)
Chien-wei (44)

Later Han maps:

Lung-hsi (1)
Tung (4, 11)
Ho-tung (7, 8, 9)
Tung-p'ing (10)
Lo-an, A.D.108 or later (12)
Shan-yang, A.D.84 or later (13, 14, 36, 37)
Shang-tang, A.D.25–140 (15, 16)
Chü-lu (18)
Ho-chien, A.D.147–167 or later (19)
Wei, A.D. 140 or later (20)
Chung-shan, A.D.147 or later (23, 24)
Yü-yang (26)
Ching-chao-yin (28)
Ho-nan-yin (29, 30)
Ju-nan, A.D.108 or later (34, 41)
Chiang-hsi (39)
Lu-chiang (40)
Wu-ling (45)
Ling-ling, A.D.128 or later (46)

Former or Later Han maps:

T'ien-shui, before A.D.74 (2)
Ho-nei, before A.D.106 (17)

³¹ Based on the map reproduced by Bulling, *op.cit.*, p. 18.

³² See also Bulling, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

While maps may have existed for larger units, such as provinces, it can be seen from the above that it must have been a practice to draw maps for each commandery of the empire. It is also clear that maps for the central commanderies were more frequently updated than those for the peripheral ones. Of the above fourteen Former Han maps available to the author of the *Shui ching*, five were for the periphery.

It has been seen that the Ma-wang tui map (Map 1), while good, is not flawless. The same will have been true for all other maps of that time. This explains why the author of the *Shui ching* at times is misled by his cartographical sources. He may list prefectures passed by a river in the wrong order.³³ He may give wrong directions, due to a misplaced prefecture on a map. For instance, the *Shui ching* states that the Cho-chang River passes Wu-an prefecture³⁴ (10:7a), and that the Ch'ing-chang River passes south of the same prefecture (10:35b). The two statements can only be reconciled by realizing that Wu-an had been placed too far to the southeast on the ancient map.

Furthermore, for some parts of China the author had poor or incomplete maps at his disposal. This must be the reason for the superficial account of the Ching River (19:43a–46a), and may be the reason for the omission of the Hu-t'o River. He also makes claims which are topographically impossible.³⁵ But by-and-large the account of the *Shui ching* is remarkably accurate.

Having come this far in our conclusions, let us now see whether the time of the compilation of the *Shui ching* can be defined with greater precision. So far, it is clear that the work cannot have been written before the end of Later Han. But is there proof for a later date than that?

Let us first consider what evidence exists for the *Shui ching* having been written during the San kuo period before the downfall of the Shu-Han state, i.e. between 221 and 264.

Liang is three times referred to by the *Shui ching* as a commandery (*chün*) (23:14a, 26b; 24:1a). That unit became a kingdom (*kuo*) in 178 B.C. and remained one until the end of Former Han in A.D.9 (HS 14:11b–12a). During Later Han, it again became a kingdom in A.D.79 and remained one until A.D.180 (HHS 3:5b; 8:9a). During the San kuo period, it is twice referred to as a commandery (*Wei shu* 12:24a; 22:23a).³⁶ During the Chin dynasty, Liang was again a kingdom (*Chin shu* 14:9b)³⁷ This evidence is inconclusive. The map could have been for early Former Han (202–178 B.C.), for early Later Han (A.D.25–79), for late Later Han 180–220), or for Wei (221–265) of the San-kuo.

Wei-hsing commandery is mentioned once by the *Shui ching* (27:8b). A commandery of that name did not exist during the Han dynasties. But it is mentioned for A.D.226 by the *Wei-lüeh* (*Wei shu* 3:3b, commentary), and for 237 (*Wei shu*

³³ E.g. 8:31b–32a; 10:2a; 29:1a–2b; 36:15a–15b.

³⁴ Identical with the modern prefecture with the same name, Ho-nan.

³⁵ About these more below.

³⁶ *Po-na* edition of *San-kuo chih*, *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an*, Commercial Press, Shanghai 1920–1922.

³⁷ *Po-na* edition.

3:17b). The commandery also existed in Chin times (*Chin shu* 15:4a). Chao Yi-ch'ing believes that the passage of the *Shui ching* mentioning Wei-hsing commandery is a later interpolation (*Shui ching* 27:8b, commentary), but I see no need for that assumption. There is good reason to assume that the author used a map from the San-kuo or possibly even Chin period.

Secondly, we should explore whether the *Shui ching* could have been written during the Chin dynasty.

A Kuang-wei commandery in what now is Ssu-ch'uan is mentioned four times in the *Shui ching* (20:11b; twice in 32:18b; 33:12b). Po-shui (20:11b; 32:18b), Chia-meng (20:11b), Fou (32:18b), and Lo (33:12b) are by the *Shui ching* recorded as subordinate prefectures of Kuang-wei. All four belonged during Han to Kuang-han commandery. Kuang-han means "Expanding the Han". The Shu-Han state of the San-kuo, considering itself a continuation of the Han, obviously had no reason to change the name. That state came to an end in the 10th month of A.D.264, when it was conquered by its northern neighbour Wei. After a conquest, it was standard practice for the winner to seize the archives of the loser. For instance, the founder of Later Han, Emperor Kuang-wu, had the archives of his defeated rivals Wei Ao and Kung-sun Shu brought to his capital Lo-yang.³⁸

It seems clear that the Wei, immediately after its conquest of Shu-Han, changed the name of Kuang-han commandery to Kuang-wei or "Expanding Wei"³⁹, that a map was drawn up for it with that name, and that this map then was sent to the Wei capital Lo-yang.⁴⁰ Whether it arrived before or after the 12th month of the Chinese year 265,⁴¹ when Ssu-ma Yen overthrew the Wei dynasty and founded the Chin dynasty, is irrelevant. So much is certain, that the author of the *Shui ching* cannot have made use of the map for Kuang-wei before A.D.265 at the earliest, and probably much later.

Yün-hsiang prefecture is mentioned once in the *Shui ching* (28:2a). No prefecture of that name existed in Han and San-kuo times. According to Li Tao-yüan, Yün-hsiang was established as a prefecture in A.D.284 (*Shui ching chu* 28:2b). It is not listed in the Treatise on Administrative Geography of *Chin shu*, but that is because the survey quoted by that chapter is datable to A.D.280, 281, or 282.⁴²

The entry for Yün-hsiang in the *Shui ching* is the fourth sentence after the section on Wei-hsing commandery which Chao Yi-ch'ing considers to be an interpo-

³⁸ See my *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty*, vol. II, *The Civil War*, p. 198.

³⁹ Note that a different Kuang-wei commandery, located in the northwest, is mentioned for A.D.238 (*Wei shu* 3:20b). It can no longer have existed by that name in A.D.264.

⁴⁰ The name of Chia-meng prefecture in Kuang-han commandery was by the Shu-Han state changed to Han-shou, meaning "Long Life for the Han". It is mentioned as Han-shou for A.D.251, 257, and 253 in *San-kuo chih* (*Shu shu* 3:6a; 14:7a; 14:10b; *Wei shu* 4:10b). But on the map which I postulate for Kuang-wei commandery it must again have appeared as Chia-meng, since it is so called by the *Shui ching* (20:11b). If the Wei was sensitive about the name of Kuang-han, it would have been even more sensitive about the name of Han-shou. It therefore stands to reason that the Wei changed the name back to its old version.

⁴¹ Corresponding to early 266, Western calendar.

⁴² See my *Chinese Historical Demography A.D.2-1982*, *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, no. 59, Stockholm 1987, p. 16.

lation. But even if he were right, and even if the interpolation were longer than he suspects and included the sentence on Yün-hsiang, the mentioning of Kuang-wei commandery still places the authorship of the *Shui ching* squarely in the Chin dynasty.⁴³

The time has now come to draw a map of the river network described by the *Shui ching*, superimposed on a modern map (Map 4). This map will help us to arrive at our final conclusions.

To make the map easier to read, I have drawn the rivers in different thickness according to their importance. That is not a distinction made by the *Shui ching*. I only show those rivers for which the text records at least their sources and mouths. Where the text merely notes that a tributary enters a main river, without any description of its previous course, this tributary does not appear on my map. Two river courses are not identifiable and have therefore been omitted, the Little Liao River in Manchuria and the Pei River in Korea (14:29a-29b).⁴⁴

It can be seen at a glance that some chapters of the *Shui ching* indeed are missing. The account on the Yangtze breaks off at the end of chapter 35. This makes it probable that the last five chapters (36-40) of the original text were lost, containing descriptions of the lower Yangtze and its tributaries, and of the rivers in what now are Che-chiang, Fu-chien, and Chiang-hsi. This has been obscured by the later rearrangement of the *Shui ching* into 40 chapters.

The map brings out nineteen major topographical errors which I have marked by numbers in circles:⁴⁵

1. The Chi River is stated to have emanated from Wang-wu Mountain east of Yüan prefecture⁴⁶ in Ho-tung commandery (7:1a) and then to have passed north-west of Wen prefecture⁴⁷ (7:4a). But it cannot have emanated from Yüan prefecture, as this was situated at the Yellow River, upstream from Wen prefecture which also was situated on the Yellow River.

2. The Ch'in River is stated to have emanated from Yeh-li Mountain of Nieh prefecture⁴⁸ in Shang-tang commandery and then to have passed east of Ku-yüan prefecture⁴⁹ (9:9a). But it cannot have emanated from Nieh prefecture, since there is a watershed between this and Ku-yüan.

⁴³ For completeness sake, I list the mystifying names of two prefecture mentioned in the *Shui ching* which are listed in no other source for that time:

Shang-fen (28:1a)

Wei-ning (39:5a)

Attempts at identification by the commentators are unsuccessful.

⁴⁴ For rivers which cannot be drawn because of topographical misinformation see nos. 7, 14, and 16 below.

⁴⁵ These errors are corrected by me on Map 4.

⁴⁶ Situated 20 *li* W of the present Yüan-ch'ü *hsien*, Shan-hsi.

⁴⁷ Situated 30 *li* SW of the present *hsien* with the same name, Ho-nan.

⁴⁸ Situated 55 *li* W of the present Wu-hsiang *hsien*, Shan-hsi.

⁴⁹ Situated S of the present Ch'in-yüan *hsien*, Shan-hsi.

3. The Shih River is stated to have branched off from the Chi Canal west of Liang-tsou prefecture⁵⁰, to have reached Lin-tzu prefecture,⁵¹ then to have bent southward, to have passed the Hua prefecture,⁵² and finally to have entered the Yi River east of Fei prefecture⁵³ (24:19a). It would mean that the Shih River would have curved in an arc around the central mountain massive of Shan-tung, which, considering the terrain, would be difficult even for a canal.

4. The Mien (or Han) River is stated to have entered the Yangtze (28:25a), as, of course, it does. But then it is recorded to have exited the Yangtze south of Chü-ch'ao prefecture,⁵⁴ to have passed south of Niu-chu prefecture,⁵⁵ to have reached Shih-ch'eng prefecture,⁵⁶ and there to have divided into two branches. One of them passed north of P'i-ling prefecture⁵⁷ and became the Northern Yangtze, the other eastward reached Yü-yao prefecture⁵⁸ of K'uai-chi commandery and entered into the sea (29:1a-3b). This is a badly garbled account which makes no geographical sense. Shih-ch'eng was not situated downstream from Niu Island but more than 200 km upstream, and no division of any rivers takes place there. In addition, Yü-yao was situated south of Hang-chou Bay, far removed from the Yangtze Basin.

5. The Yün River is stated to have entered the Hsia River (31:23a). But the latter was a small southern tributary of the Mien (or Han) River (32:15b-17a), whereas the Yün River had its source north of the Mien River. The Yün must therefore have entered the Mien.

6. The Chü River is stated to have emanated from Fang-ling prefecture,⁵⁹ to have passed Lin-chü prefecture,⁶⁰ and to have entered the Yangtze east of Chih-chiang prefecture⁶¹ (32:13a-14b). This is impossible, since there is a watershed between Fang-ling and Lin-chü. The Chü River emanated from Lin-chü prefecture.

7. The Huan River is stated to have emanated from Min Mountain of Shu commandery, to have passed through Tibetan territory, and then to have entered the Southern Sea (36:1b). There was and is no such river.

8. The Jo River is stated to have emanated from beyond the border of Mao-niu prefecture⁶² of Shu commandery, to have passed west of Ch'iung-tu prefecture,⁶³ and to have reached Hui-wu prefecture⁶⁴ (36:3b-4b). But the Jo River could not have emanated from the Mao-niu area, since there are no less than two major watersheds between this and Ch'iung-tu.

⁵⁰ Identical with the present Tsou-p'ing *hsien*, Shan-tung.

⁵¹ Identical with the present *hsien* with the same name, Shan-tung.

⁵² Situated 60 li NE of the present Fei *hsien*, Shan-tung.

⁵³ Identical with the present *hsien* with the same name, Shan-tung.

⁵⁴ Situated 5 li NE of the present Ch'ao *hsien*, An-hui.

⁵⁵ Niu-chu was actually not a prefecture but an island, i.e. Niu Island. According to HHS *chih* 22:38b-40a, it was situated near Nanking, Chiang-su.

⁵⁶ Situated W of present Kuei-ch'ih *hsien*, An-hui.

⁵⁷ Identical with the present Wu-chin *hsien*, Chiang-su.

⁵⁸ Identical with the present *hsien* with the same name, Che-chiang.

⁵⁹ Identical with the present Fang *hsien*, Hu-pei.

⁶⁰ Identical with the present Tang-yang *hsien*, Hu-pei.

⁶¹ Situated E of the present *hsien* with the same name, Hu-pei.

⁶² Situated S of the present Han-yüan *hsien*, Ssu-ch'uan.

⁶³ Situated SE of the present Hsi-ch'ang *hsien*, Ssu-ch'uan.

⁶⁴ Identical with the present *hsien* with the same name, Ssu-ch'uan.

9. The Mo River is stated to have emanated from beyond the border of Kuang-jou prefecture,⁶⁵ to have passed north of Mao-niu prefecture, to have reached Ling-tao prefecture,⁶⁶ and northeastward to have entered the Ch'ing-yi River (36:9a-9b). But Kuang-jou was situated 160 km north-northeast, and Ling-tao 40 km north-northeast of the Ch'ing-yi River, whereas the Mo River entered it from the south.

10. The Yen-chiang River is stated to have emanated from Nan-kuang prefecture⁶⁷ and eastward to have reached Pi prefecture⁶⁸ (36:10b). But Nan-kuang was situated 240 km northwest of Pi, with many watersheds between them. The Yen-chiang River, as then defined, had its source north of Pi prefecture.

11. The same Yen-chiang River is furthermore stated to have entered both the Yangtze and the Yu River (36:11a-11b). It is true that the Yen-chiang River entered the Yangtze, but it did not connect with the Yu River. There is a watershed between the two systems.

12. The Ts'un River is stated to have emanated from Ts'un-ma prefecture⁶⁹ and then to have reached Ting-chou prefecture⁷⁰ (36:12b). But Ts'un-ma was situated 750 km northwest of Ting-chou with numerous watersheds between them. The source of the Ts'un River was instead not far from Ting-chou.

13. The Wen River is stated to have emanated from Yeh-lang prefecture⁷¹ and eastward to have reached Kuang-yü⁷² and Ling-fang⁷³ prefectures (36:13a-15a).⁷⁴ But Yeh-lang was situated 620 km northwest of Ling-fang with a great many watersheds between them. The source of the Wen River was instead not far from Ling-fang.

14. The Yen River is stated to have emanated from Sui-chiu prefecture,⁷⁵ eastward to have reached Ch'ing-ling⁷⁶ and Ku-fu⁷⁷ prefectures, and then eastward to have entered the Jo River (37:1a-1b). These data are irreconcilable. All three prefectures are separated from each other by watersheds.

15. The Yeh-yü River is stated to have emanated from the northern border of the prefecture with that name,⁷⁸ to have flown northeastward, to have passed Pu-wei prefecture,⁷⁹ and to have continued its course passed Hsi-sui prefecture⁸⁰ (37:1b-5a). Here, the text confuses the upper reaches of what now is called the Red River with the Mekong.

⁶⁵ Situated NW of the present Wen-ch'uan *hsien*, Ssu-ch'uan.

⁶⁶ Situated 50 *li* NW of the present Lu-shan *hsien*, Ssu-ch'uan.

⁶⁷ Identical with the present Kung *hsien*, Ssu-ch'uan.

⁶⁸ Situated W of the present Tsun-yi *hsien*, Kuei-chou.

⁶⁹ Situated 160 *li* NW of the present Yi-pin *hsien*, Ssu-ch'uan.

⁷⁰ Situated NW of the present Yi-shan *hsien*, Ssu-ch'uan.

⁷¹ Situated 20 *li* E of the present T'ung-tzu *hsien*, Kuei-chou.

⁷² Situated near the present Kuei *hsien*, Kuei-chou.

⁷³ Situated 20 *li* W of the present Pin-yang *hsien*, Kuei-chou.

⁷⁴ The sequence of Kuang-yü and Ling-fang is wrong and should be reversed.

⁷⁵ Situated W of the present Yen-yüan *hsien*, Ssu-ch'uan.

⁷⁶ Identical with the present Ta-yao *hsien*, Yün-nan.

⁷⁷ Situated SE of the present Yung-pei *hsien*, Yün-nan.

⁷⁸ Situated NE of the present Ta-li *hsien*, Yün-nan.

⁷⁹ Situated 30 *li* N of present Pao-shan *hsien*, Yün-nan.

⁸⁰ Situated E of present Yüan-chiang *hsien*, Yün-nan.

16. The Yi River is stated to have emanated from the Yangtze at Yü-fu prefecture,⁸¹ to have passed south of Heng-shan⁸² and north of Yi-tao⁸³ prefectures, and then again to have entered the Yangtze (37:9b-13b). This makes no sense at all. The Yi River would have had to run parallel with the Yangtze through the gorges, which is a geographical impossibility.

17. The Li River is stated to have emanated from west of Ch'ung prefecture,⁸⁴ to have passed south of it, and then eastward to have passed north of Ling-yang prefecture⁸⁵ (37:14b-15a). Ling-yang was situated 50 km west of Ch'ung, so that the Li River cannot have passed it eastward.

18. The Heng River is stated to have emanated from north of T'an-ch'eng prefecture⁸⁶ and then southward to have reached T'an-chung prefecture⁸⁷ (37:33a). T'an-ch'eng was situated 330 km north northeast of T'an-chung, with a major mountain range between them. The source of the Heng River lay instead c.100 km north of T'an-chung.

19. One branch of the Heng River, called the Nieh River, is stated to have connected with the Yün River, which, in turn entered into the sea much further eastward (37:37a). This is an error. The two river systems are not connected.

Map 4 will permit us to answer the main questions of this paper. Its section for North China, especially the Great Plain, is the most detailed and has the fewest errors. The compiler of the *Shui ching* therefore lived in the north. He cannot have finished his work before the establishment of the Chin and was therefore a subject of that dynasty. He had at his disposal maps of the former Shu-Han state, which had comprised Ssu-ch'uan, Yün-nan, Kuei-chou, and parts of Kuang-hsi, and which lost its existence in the 10th month of A.D.264. The errors on these maps (7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15), incorporated into the *Shui ching*, all concern the periphery of Shu-Han. This shows that the cartographers of Shu-Han were well-informed only about the heartland of their country, central Ssu-ch'uan.

The Wu state of Southeast China survived longer than Shu-Han. It comprised the lower Yangtze Valley, Che-chiang, Chiang-hsi, Hu-nan, Fu-chien, Kuang-tung, eastern Kuang-hsi, and northern Vietnam, and did not surrender to the Chin until the 3rd month of A.D.280. The author of the *Shui ching* may have had available poor maps for the lower Yangtze Valley. This territory had been contested between Wei and Wu, and later Chin and Wu, which stimulated the military interest of the northern states to collect cartographical information about it. Such information was no doubt incomplete and could explain errors 4, 5, 6, and 17. But maps for the

⁸¹ Situated NE of the present Feng-chieh *hsien*, Ssu-ch'uan.

⁸² Situated 85 li W of the present Ch'ang-yang *hsien*, Hu-pei.

⁸³ Situated NW of the present Yi-tu *hsien*, Hu-pei.

⁸⁴ Situated W of the present Lin-li *hsien*, Hu-nan.

⁸⁵ Identical with the present Tz'u-li *hsien*, Hu-nan.

⁸⁶ Situated SW of the present Ch'ien-yang *hsien*, Hu-nan.

⁸⁷ Situated SE of present Ma-p'ing *hsien*, Kuang-hsi.

regions further south in the Wu state did not become available in the Chin capital and to the author of the *Shui ching* until A.D.280 or later⁸⁸. It is certain that these maps really were drawn for the Wu state, not later for the Chin, since errors 11, 12, 13, and 18 are concentrated to the very border area between Wu and Shu-Han, and later Wu and Chin. The surveyors of the Wu could not go beyond the border, and so they made such egregious errors as placing the sources of rivers they had mapped in eastern Kuang-hsi in far away Ssu-ch'uan (12) and Kuei-chou (13). By the same token, they missed the upper courses of the Yü River and of what now is called the West or Pearl River. They also falsely connected the Yu River to the Yen-chiang River beyond the border (11). Such errors could not have been committed by Chin cartographers.

If the *Shui ching* cannot have been compiled before the early 280's, there is no longer any need to doubt its mention of Yün-hsiang prefecture (28:2a), which, as we have seen, was established in A.D.284.

Our initial questions can now be answered:

1. The *Shui ching* was compiled after A.D.284.
2. It was compiled in northern China.
3. It only had one author.

⁸⁸ *Chin shu* 3:11a-11b states that after the surrender of Wu in the 3rd month of 280, the charts and records of that state were collected by the victor.

Chinese Terms

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. An-feng prefecture | 41. Ch'ing-ling prefecture |
| 2. An-hsi prefecture | 42. Ch'ing-yi River |
| 3. An-hsien prefecture | 43. Chiu-chiang commandery |
| 4. An-ting commandery | 44. Ch'iung-tu prefecture |
| 5. "Ch'ang-sha Ma-wang tui san-hao
Han mu ch'u ti-t'u ti cheng-li" | 45. Cho commandery |
| 6. Ch'ang-yang <i>hsien</i> | 46. Cho-chang River |
| 7. Chao Yi-ch'ing | 47. Chu River |
| 8. Ch'ao <i>hsien</i> | 48. ch'u (to emanate) |
| 9. Chen-ling prefecture | 49. Chung-shan commandery |
| 10. Cheng Te-k'un | 50. <i>Ch'ung-wen tsung-mu</i> |
| 11. ch'eng (city) | 51. Chung-wu prefecture |
| 12. Chi Canal | 52. Ch'ung prefecture |
| 13. Chi prefecture | 53. Ch'ung-an prefecture. |
| 14. Chi River | 54. Chü River |
| 15. Chi-ling prefecture | 55. Chü-ch'ao prefecture |
| 16. Chia prefecture | 56. Chü-lu commandery |
| 17. Chia-meng prefecture | 57. Chü-ma River |
| 18. Chiang prefecture | 58. chüan (chapter) |
| 19. Chiang-hsia commandery | 59. Ch'üan Tsu-wang |
| 20. Chiang-yi prefecture | 60. chün (commandery) |
| 21. Chien-chiang River | 61. "Erh-ch'ien-yi-pai to nien ch'ien ti
yi fu ti-t'u" |
| 22. Chien-wei commandery | 62. Fang <i>hsien</i> |
| 23. Ch'ien River | 63. Fang-ling prefecture |
| 24. Ch'ien-t'ang River | 64. Fei prefecture |
| 25. <i>Ch'ien Han shu pu-chu</i> | 65. Fen River |
| 26. Ch'ien-yang <i>hsien</i> | 66. Fen-yang prefecture |
| 27. chih (particle) | 67. Feng-chieh <i>hsien</i> |
| 28. Chih prefecture | 68. Fou prefecture |
| 29. Chih-chiang prefecture | 69. Han-shou prefecture |
| 30. Chih-lu prefecture | 70. Han-yang commandery |
| 31. Chin-ch'eng commandery | 71. Han-yüan <i>hsien</i> |
| 32. Chin-hsiang prefecture | 72. Hang-chou |
| 33. <i>Chin shu</i> | 73. Heng River |
| 34. Ch'in Mountain Range | 74. Heng-shan prefecture |
| 35. Ch'in River | 75. ho (river) |
| 36. Ch'in-yüan <i>hsien</i> | 76. Ho-kuan prefecture |
| 37. Ching-chao-yin | 77. Ho-nan-yin |
| 38. Ching River | 78. Ho-nei commandery |
| 39. Ching-yang prefecture | 79. Ho-tung commandery |
| 40. Ch'ing-chang River | 80. Hu-ling prefecture |

81. Hu-lu prefecture
82. Hu Shih
83. Hu-t'o River
84. *Hou Han shu chi-chieh*
85. Hua prefecture
86. Huan River
87. Hui-wu prefecture
88. Hung-nung commandery
89. Hsi-ch'ang prefecture
90. Hsi-sui prefecture
91. Hsia River
92. Hsiao Ho
93. hsien (prefecture)
94. Hsien-yang prefecture
95. Hsin-ch'eng prefecture
96. hsing (to travel)
97. Jo River
98. Ju-nan commandery
99. Jung-ch'eng prefecture
100. Kao-p'ing prefecture
101. Ku-ch'eng prefecture (Ho-tung commandery)
102. Ku-ch'eng prefecture (Ho-nan-yin)
103. Ku-fu prefecture.
104. Ku-yüan prefecture
105. K'uai-chi commandery
106. Kuang-han commandery
107. Kuang-jou prefecture
108. Kuang-tsung prefecture
109. Kuang-wei commandery
110. Kuang-yü prefecture
111. Kung *hsien*
112. Kung prefecture
113. Kung-sun Shu
114. Kuo P'u
115. Kuei *hsien*
116. Kuei-ch'ih *hsien*
117. Lang-ya commandery
118. Li Tao-yüan
119. li (to traverse)
120. Li River
121. Liang commandery and kingdom
122. Liang-tsou prefecture
123. Liao-tui prefecture
124. Liao-tung commandery
125. Lin-chi prefecture
126. Lin-chü prefecture
127. Lin-li *hsien*
128. Lin-lü prefecture
129. Lin-tzu prefecture
130. Ling-ch'iu prefecture
131. Ling-fang prefecture
132. Ling-ling commandery
133. Ling-tao prefecture
134. Ling-yang prefecture
135. Little Liao River
136. Liu prefecture
137. liu (to flow)
138. Liu-an commandery
139. Liu-an prefecture
140. Liu Hsiu
141. Liu Pang
142. Lo prefecture
143. Lo-an commandery
144. Lo-ch'eng prefecture
145. Lo-ch'eng-ling prefecture
146. Lo-ling prefecture
147. Lo-yang prefecture
148. Lou hsü prefecture
149. Lu prefecture
150. Lu-chiang commandery
151. Lu-shan *hsien*
152. Lung-hsi commandery
153. Lung-lü prefecture
154. Ma-p'ing *hsien*
155. Ma-wang tui
156. Mao-niu prefecture
157. Min Mountain
158. Min River
159. Mien River
160. Mo River
161. Nan-kuang prefecture
162. Nan-yüeh
163. Nieh prefecture
164. Nieh River
165. Niu Island
166. *Pa-shih ching-chi chih*
167. P'an-kuan prefecture

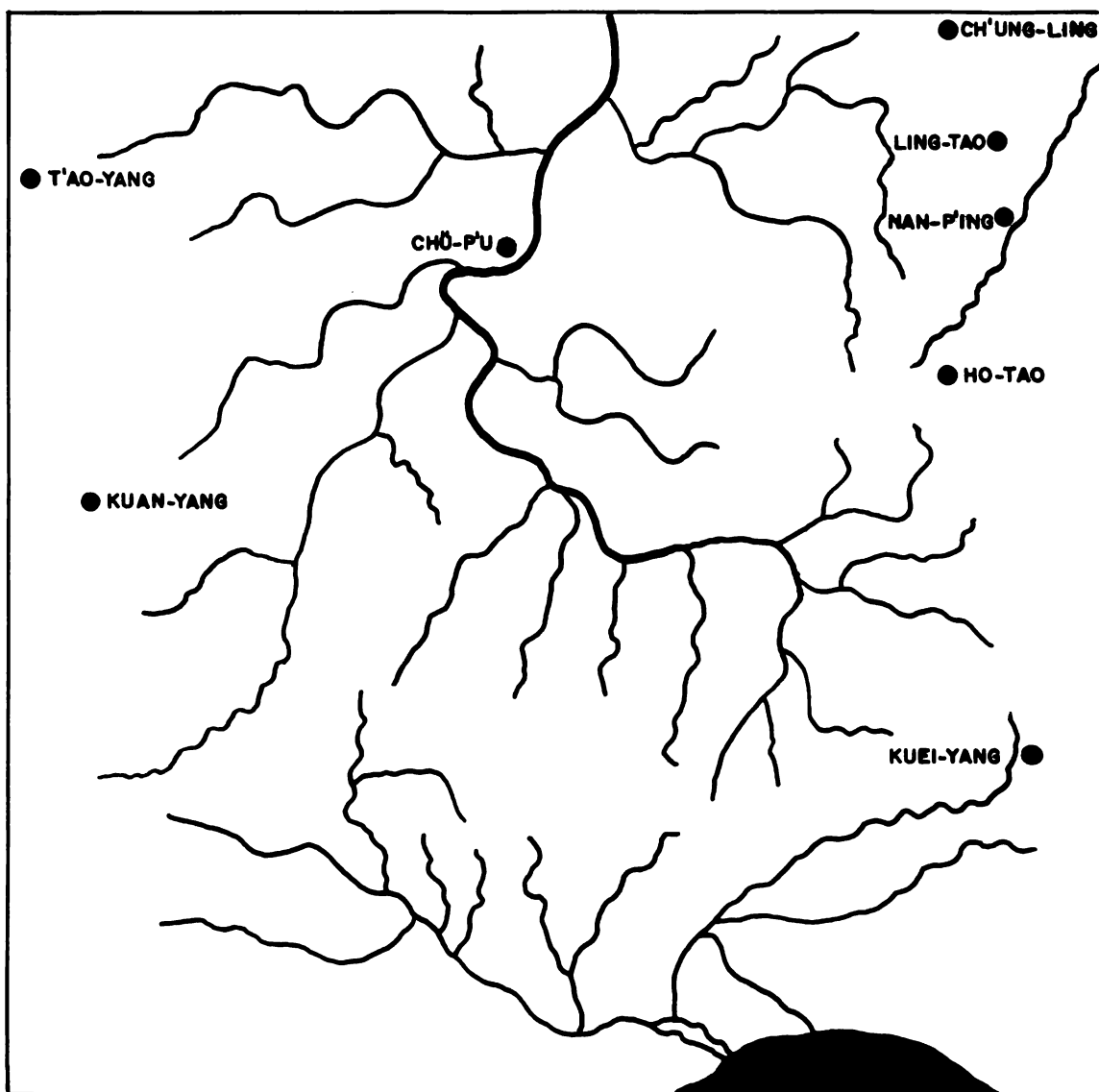
168. Pao-ch'iu River
169. Pao-shan *hsien*
170. Pei River
171. Pei-ti commandery
172. Pi prefecture
173. P'i-ling prefecture
174. Pien River
175. Pin-yang *hsien*
176. P'ing-ch'un prefecture
177. P'ing-yüan commandery
178. Po-an prefecture
179. Po-hsiang prefecture
180. Po-ling prefecture
181. Po-na edition
182. Po-shui prefecture
183. Pu-wei prefecture
184. Sang Ch'in
185. Sha prefecture
186. Shan-yang commandery
187. Shang-fen prefecture
188. Shang-lo prefecture
189. Shang-tang commandery
190. She prefecture
191. Sheng River
192. Shih-ch'eng prefecture
193. Shih River
194. Shou-chang prefecture
195. Shou-liang prefecture
196. Shu commandery
197. Shu-Han
198. *Shu shu*
199. shui (river)
200. *Shui ching*
201. *Shui ching chu*
202. *Shui ching chu yin-te*
203. *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu*
204. Ssu-ma Yen
205. *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an*
206. Sui-chiu prefecture
207. Ta-li *hsien*
208. Ta-tung shu-chü
209. Ta-yao *hsien*
210. Tai commandery
211. Tai Chen
212. T'ai-shan commandery
213. T'ai-yüan commandery
214. T'an-ch'eng prefecture
215. T'an Ch'i-hsiang
216. T'an-chung prefecture
217. tang (preposition)
218. *T'ang liu-tien*
219. Tang-yang *hsien*
220. Ti prefecture
221. ti-li chih (Treatise on Administrative Geography)
222. T'ien-shui commandery
223. Ting-chou prefecture
224. Ting-ying prefecture
225. T'o prefecture
226. Ts'en River
227. Tso-t'ang prefecture
228. Tso-yi prefecture
229. Tsou-p'ing *hsien*
230. Tsun-yi *hsien*
231. Ts'un-ma prefecture
232. Ts'un River
233. Tu River
234. Tung commandery
235. Tung-t'ing Lake
236. T'ung-tzu *hsien*
237. tzu (preposition)
238. Tz'u-li *hsien*
239. Wang Hsien-ch'ien
240. Wang-wu Mountain
241. Wang Yao-ch'en
242. Wei Ao
243. Wei commandery
244. Wei prefecture
245. Wei-hsing commandery
246. *Wei-lüeh*
247. Wei-ning prefecture
248. Wei River
249. *Wei shu*
250. Wen prefecture
251. Wen River
252. Wen-ch'uan *hsien*
253. *Wen-wu*
254. Wu family

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 255. Wu-an prefecture | 275. Yi-tao prefecture |
| 256. Wu-chin <i>hsien</i> | 276. Yi-tu <i>hsien</i> |
| 257. Wu-hsiang <i>hsien</i> | 277. Ying-ch'uan commandery |
| 258. Wu-ling commandery | 278. Yu River |
| 259. Yang-hsiang prefecture | 279. Yung-an prefecture |
| 260. Yang-hsü prefecture | 280. Yung-pei <i>hsien</i> |
| 261. Yangtze | 281. Yung-shih prefecture |
| 262. Yeh-lang prefecture | 282. Yü River (ancient name) |
| 263. Yeh-li Mountain | 283. Yü River (modern name) |
| 264. Yeh-yü River | 284. Yü-fu prefecture |
| 265. Yellow River | 285. Yü-yang commandery |
| 266. Yen River | 286. Yü-yao prefecture |
| 267. Yen-chiang River | 287. Yüan prefecture |
| 268. Yen-yüan <i>hsien</i> | 288. Yüan-chiang <i>hsien</i> |
| 269. yi (town) | 289. Yüan-ch'ü <i>hsien</i> |
| 270. Yi River (in Shan-tung) | 290. Yüan-lu prefecture |
| 271. Yi River (in Ssu-ch'uan) | 291. Yün River |
| 272. Yi pin <i>hsien</i> | 292. Yün-chung commandery |
| 273. Yi-shan <i>hsien</i> | 293. Yün-hsiang prefecture |
| 274. Yi-shih prefecture | |

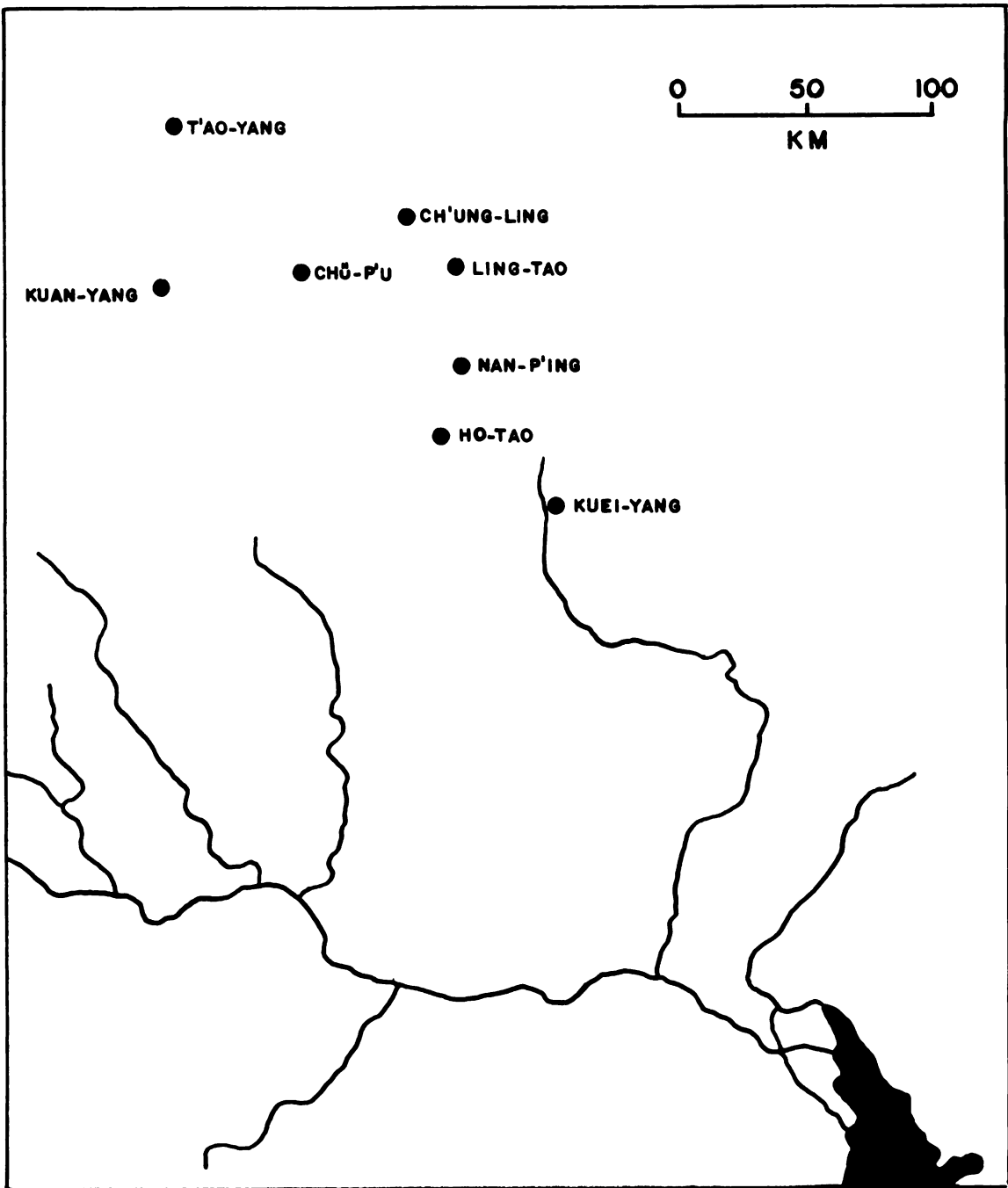
1. 安豐 2. 安憲 3. 安險 4. 安定 5. 長沙馬王堆
三號漢墓地圖的整理 6. 長陽 7. 趙一清 8. 巢
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14. 濟水 15. 箕陵 16. 邾 17. 葭萌 18. 絳 19. 江夏
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30. 直路 31. 金城 32. 金鄉 33. 晉書 34. 秦嶺
35. 沁水 36. 沁源 37. 京兆尹 38. 涇水 39. 涇陽
40. 清漳水 41. 青蛉 42. 青衣水 43. 九江 44. 邛都
45. 涿 46. 蜀漳 47. 筑水 48. 出 49. 中山 50. 崇文
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56. 鉅鹿 57. 巨馬河 58. 卷 59. 全祖望 60. 郡
61. 二千一百多年前的一幅地圖 62. 房 63. 房陵
64. 費 65. 粉水 66. 汾陽 67. 奉節 68. 涪 69. 漢壽
70. 漢陽 71. 漢源 72. 杭州 73. 恨水 74. 恨山 75. 河
76. 河關 77. 河南尹 78. 河內 79. 河東 80. 湖陵
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97. 若水 98. 汝南 99. 容城 100. 高平 101. 穀城
102. 穀成 > 穀城 103. 姑復 104. 穀遠 105. 會稽

106. 廣漢 107. 廣柔 108. 廣宗 109. 廣魏 110. 廣鬱
111. 珙 112. 鞏 113. 公孫述 114. 郭璞 115. 貴
116. 貴池 117. 琅 (> 瑯) 邪 118. 麗道元 119. 歷
120. 澧水 121. 梁 122. 梁鄒 123. 遼隊 124. 遼東
125. 臨濟 126. 臨沮 127. 臨澧 128. 林慮 129. 臨淄
130. 靈邱 131. 領方 132. 零陵 133. 靈道 134. 零陽
135. 小遼水 136. 六 137. 流 138. 六安 139. 六安
140. 劉秀 141. 劉邦 142. 洛 (> 雒) 143. 樂安
144. 樂成 145. 樂成陵 146. 樂陵 147. 洛陽
148. 樓虛 149. 路 > 潞 150. 廬江 151. 蘆山 152. 隴西
153. 隆慮 154. 馬平 155. 馬王堆 156. 旄牛 157. 岷山
158. 岷江 159. 沔水 (漢水) 160. 沫水 161. 南廣
162. 南越 (粵) 163. 湟 164. 湟水 165. 牛渚 166. 八史
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171. 北地 172. 鼈 173. 毗陵 174. 汭水 175. 賓陽
176. 平春 177. 平原 178. 博安 179. 博鄉 180. 博陵
181. 百衲本 182. 白水 183. 不韋 184. 桑欽 185. 沙
186. 山陽 187. 上粉 188. 上洛 (雒) 189. 上黨 190. 涉
191. 聖水 192. 石城 193. 時水 194. 壽張 195. 壽良
196. 蜀 197. 蜀漢 198. 蜀書 199. 水 200. 水經
201. 水經注 202. 水經注引得 203. 四庫全書總目

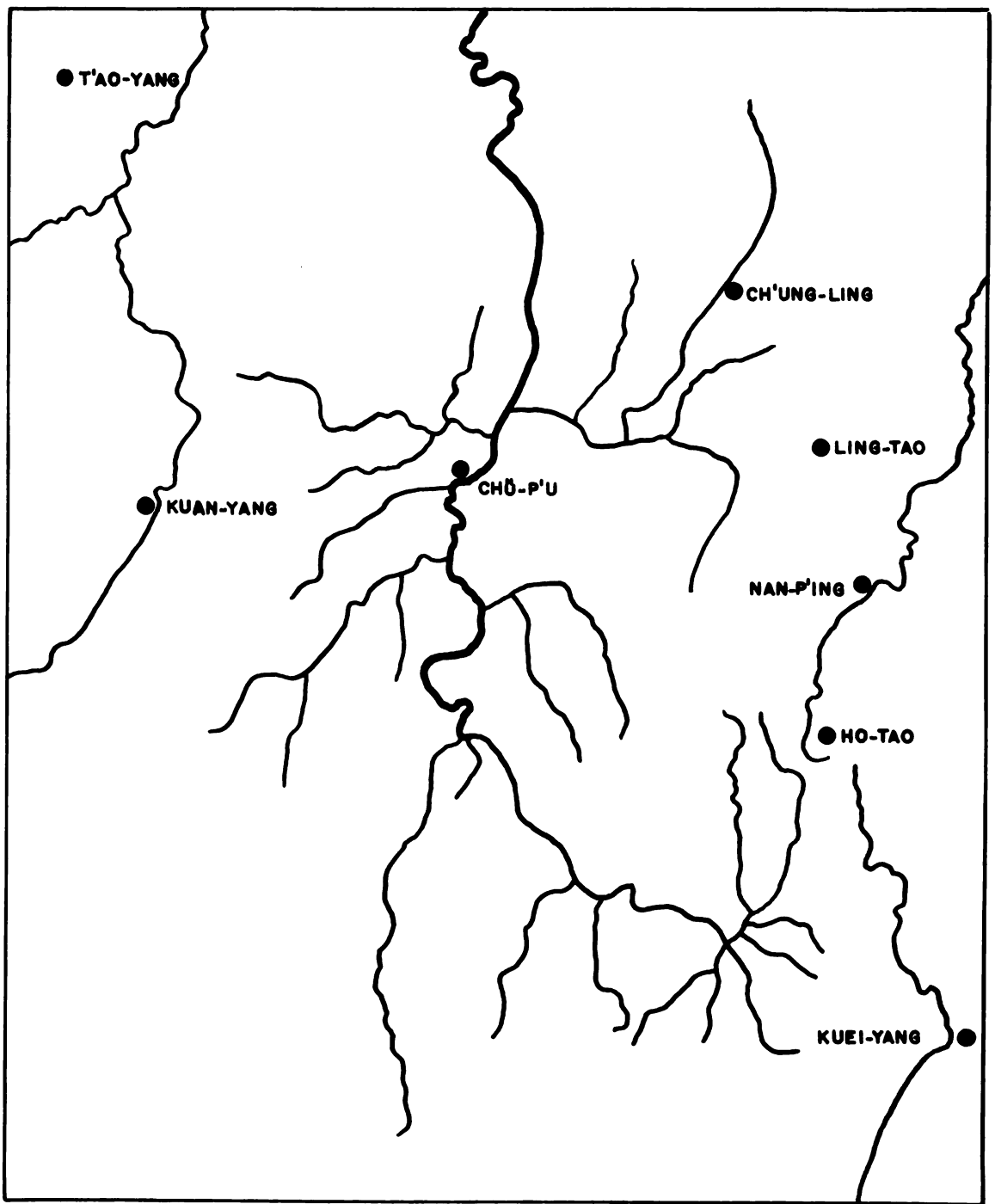
204. 司馬炎 205. 四部叢刊 206. 遂久 207. 大理
208. 大東書局 209. 大姚 210. 代 211. 戴震
212. 泰(太)山 213. 太原 214. 鐔城 215. 潭其驤
216. 潭中 217. 當 218. 唐六典 219. 當陽 220. 狄
221. 地理志 222. 天水 223. 定周 224. 定潁 225. 橐
226. 涪水 227. 作唐 228. 左邑 229. 鄒平 230. 鄭義
231. 郛駟 232. 存水 233. 堵水 234. 東 235. 洞庭湖
236. 桐梓 237. 自 238. 慈利 239. 王先謙 240. 王屋山
241. 王堯臣 242. 隗囂 243. 魏 244. 衛 245. 魏興
246. 魏略 247. 魏寧 248. 維水 249. 魏書 250. 溫
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261. 江水 262. 夜郎 263. 謁戾山 264. 葉榆河 265. 河水
266. 淹水 267. 延江水 268. 鹽源 269. 邑 270. 沂水
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275. 夷道 276. 宜都 277. 潁川 278. 酉水 279. 永安
280. 永北 281. 勇士 282. 鬱溪 283. 鬱江 284. 魚復
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290. 原鹿 291. 湏水 292. 雲中 293. 鄭鄉



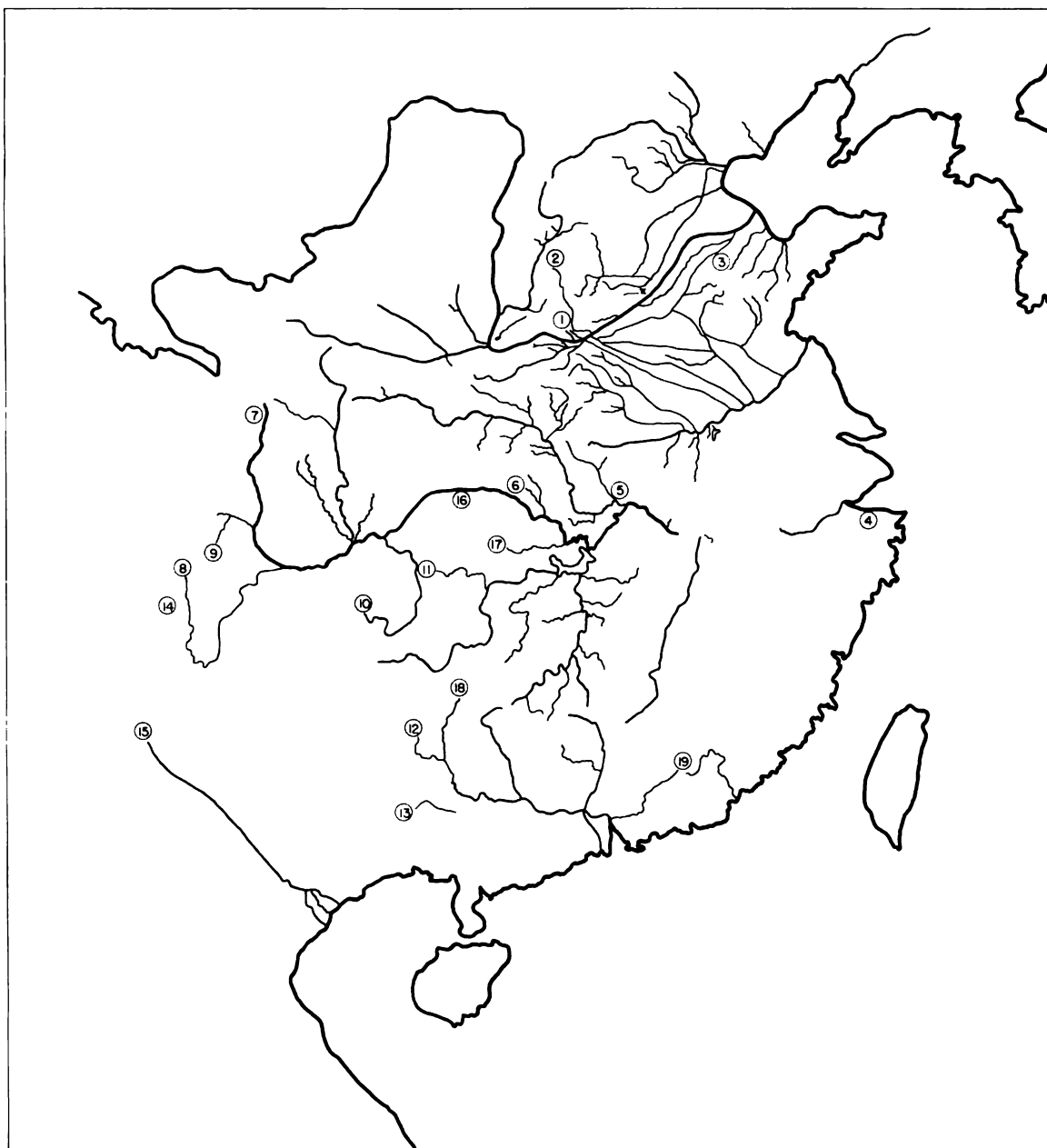
Map 1



Map 2



Map 3



Map 4





BULLETIN OF THE MUSEUM OF FAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

Editor: Dr. Jan Wirgin

The Bulletin can be obtained from the Editorial Office of the BMFEA,

The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Östasiatiska Museet),

Box 16381, S-103 27 Stockholm, and from our agents, viz.

O. Harrassowitz, Taunusstrasse 5, Postfach 2929, D 6200 Wiesbaden, Germany.

Han-Shan Tang Ltd, 42 Westleigh Ave, Putney, London SW15 6RL, England.

The Isseido, 7, I-chome, Jimbocho, Kanda, Tokyo, Japan.

Printed in Sweden

MediaPrint AB, Uddevalla 1994